



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

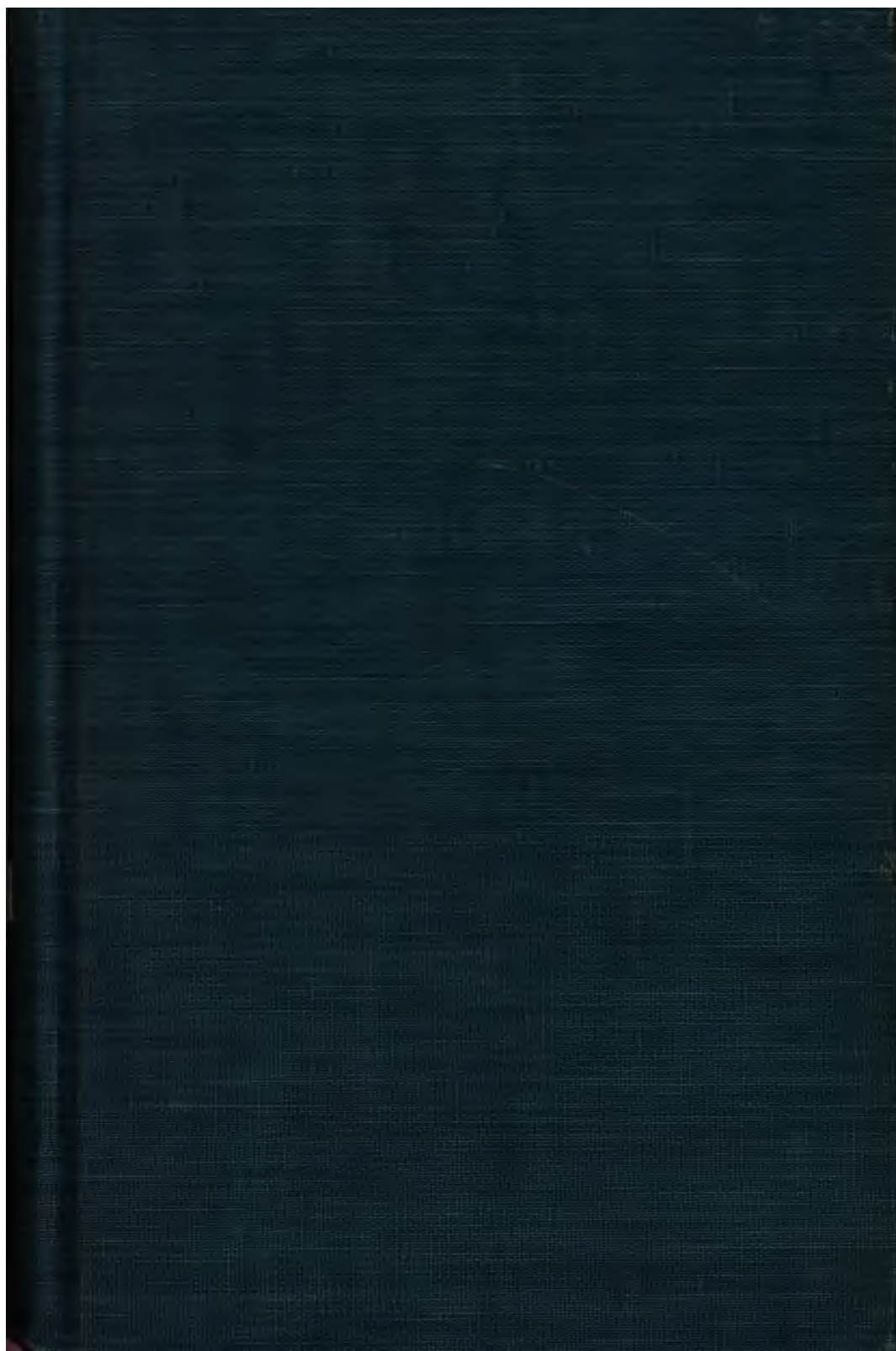
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



**Tappan Presbyterian Association  
LIBRARY.**

*Presented by* **HON. D. BETHUNE DUFFIELD.**

**From Library of Rev. Geo. Duffield, D.D.**



*In tali nunquam lassat venatio sylva.*  
A.D. 1884.







BR  
755  
.m98



BR  
755  
.M98



**C R A N M E R**  
**Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.**

~~~~~

2217.

A

274.2 M1

# HISTORY

OF THE

## CHURCHES

IN

ENGLAND and SCOTLAND,

From the Reformation to this present  
Time.

*James*

---

By a CLERGYMAN.

---

VOL. II.

---

*Facturusne opera pretium sim,—nec satis scio; nec si sciam,  
dicere Aufim.*

LIVII PRÆF.

---

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:

Printed by T. SAINT for the AUTHOR, 1771.

YACHT CLUB

CHARTERED BY THE CLUB

YACHT CLUB



YACHT CLUB

YACHT CLUB

YACHT CLUB

gift  
Tappan Presb. Soc  
3-18-1932

---

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
C H U R C H E S, &c.

---

B O O K IV.

---

**T**HE protestant religion in its advances thus far, kept pace with the civil policy of nations, and in England with the policy of this kingdom. We have found, that the principal reformers both in Germany and England, for the most part, proceeded under the favour and auspices of the several civil powers they were connected with; and the form of the protestant religion was generally modelled according to the several tastes of princes, where it was professed. In those parts, where civil government is republican, the promoters of the reformation endeavoured to form their religious system of policy, according to that order. This was the case of Geneva and the Swiss Cantons, where a parity of power was established among all the Pastors of churches, and nothing could be determined

A



mined but by the voice of the majority. It does not appear, that the principal promoters of the reformation in those parts, endeavoured so much to bring the form of church order to the conformity, which the New Testament points out, as to render it agreeable to the taste of civil Governors, and the inclinations of the people. The rights of private judgment, which were insisted upon at the council of Spire, were soon betrayed by the same persons who gave in a protestation in their favours; for the united sentiments of so many divines were soon substituted in place of the Pope's authority, and the power of general councils; and it was accounted as criminal to depart from the formularies of religion, which were then composed, as it was to renounce the papal power, and the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. The first design of these formularies was, to exhibit to the world an account of what were the principles of the protestants; and they meant no more by them, than a public vindication of themselves, from the false accusations of the papists: but after they began to increase, and became more respectable in the eyes of the world, they made these confessions terms of their fellowship, and refused their communion to such as did not agree with them in every particular. The several historians who have handed down to us an account of the rise and progress of the reformation, and the principles and practice of our chief reformers, have acted, in many instances, rather the part of apologists than of writers of history. Burnet, though in general he writes impartially, yet often-

oftentimes conceals some circumstances, when the faults of those of his own persuasion are ready to appear very conspicuous; which would elucidate matters of fact, and clear up some doubtful points of History. The controversy between the two contending parties of protestants, at Frankfort, he relates in a very unfair manner, though he could not but know, that Fuller had recorded the facts at large as they really happened. It does not appear, that the chief reformers were far removed from popery until suffering, and the approach of death opened their eyes: for their notions of the King's supremacy in matters of religion, upon which they ingrafted a system of persecution, differed from popery in nothing except the name. This very principle restored the Romish religion to its greatest height, in the reign of Mary: for by the same laws which were made in the reigns of Henry the eighth, and Edward the sixth, for abolishing the Pope's authority, was the power of the Roman Pontiff restored in England, in Mary's reign. This Queen made use of her supremacy to restore popery, as her father and brother had done to abolish it; which shews, that a power of this sort, in the hand of any sovereign, is always dangerous to true religion; and, that any profession of christianity, in which this is a leading article, cannot be truly protestant. Cranmer and Ridley were both zealous defenders of the supremacy, and Cranmer consented to the burning of people for breach of this article; which shews, that however much the

rules of human policy operated upon his mind, the spirit of humanity was wanting in him. It is sometimes long before the power of truth makes its way to the heart, and death itself is often necessary for this purpose. Cranmer who was so zealous for vestments at the consecration of Hooper, when he himself was degraded, and had death in his eye, had a different opinion of them, and the very principles which he had persecuted others for professing, for these he cheerfully laid down his life. None of the actions of his life have acquired him so much renown as that of his burning the hand which signed his recantation of the reformed religion.

While the sole right of reforming the church of England was vested in the crown, it could not well be expected that religion would make much progress. This was better than the authority of the Pope; but it cannot be proved from divine revelation, that the King and his council have a right to judge for the rest of the kingdom without their consent. The reformation in England was carried on by the King, assisted by Cranmer, and a few chosen divines; the convocation was seldom consulted, and when they proceeded, they were over-awed by their superiors; so every thing was modelled according to the designs of the court. Bishop Burnet has offered his apology for this conduct; but his Lordship appears in much distress to vindicate such proceedings. He says, "What must be done when the major part of a church is, according to the conscience of the supreme civil magistrate, in an error, and the lesser part is in  
the

the right." He replies, "that there is no promise in Scripture, that the majority of pastors shall be in the right; on the contrary, it is certain, that truth separated from interest, has but few votaries. Now as it is not reasonable, that the smaller part should depart from their sentiments, because opposed by the majority, whose interest lead them to oppose the reformation, therefore they might take sanctuary in the authority of the Prince and the Law." But who may not see the absurdity of this reasoning: for there is no promise in the Scriptures which assures us, that Kings shall always be in the right; nor is it reasonable, that the majority should conform to the sentiments of the minority, because they and the King think differently from them. Our state reformers of religion assumed an authority over the consciences of the subjects, and enacted penal laws to oblige them to worship God in their manner; and they pretended to found this power on the practice of the Jewish magistrates: but they should have remembered, that the Jewish state was a theocracy; that God himself was their King, and their chief magistrates only deputies, or God's vicegerents; that the laws of Moses were divine laws, and the penalties annexed to them, as much of divine appointment as the laws themselves. It is therefore highly absurd, to make the special commission of the Jewish magistracy, a pattern for the rights of christian princes. Bishop Burnet is under so much difficulty to make good his point, that he is obliged to leave the Scriptures altogether, and  
betake

betake himself to a law in the Justinian code, made by Theodosius the Emperor, which declares, that all persons every where, should, under the severest pains, follow that faith which Damasus, Bishop of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria had received; and his Lordship says, why might not the King and the laws of England give the like Authority to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York? His Lordship ought to have remembered, that bad precedents ought not to be followed; and that Theodosius's incroachment upon the laws of nature, the rights of mankind, and the liberty allowed christians in divine revelation, was never intended by providence as an example to be observed, but a beacon to warn others from splitting on the same rock. The inspired apostles of our Lord and Saviour, claimed no such dominion over the consciences of men; and it is the highest degree of presumption in christian princes to claim a jurisdiction over the consciences of christians, contrary to both the law of nature and the New Testament.

Burnet observes, " that it is not to be imagined how any changes in religion can be made by sovereign princes, unless an authority be lodged with them of giving the sanction of a law to the founders, though the lesser part of the church; for as princes and lawgivers are not tied to an implicit obedience in clergymen, but are left to the freedom of their own discerning, so they have a power to choose which side to be of, where things are much enquired into."

“ into.” The notion of the magistrate’s interfering in the settlement of religion is derived originally from a principle of infidelity ; for it implies a disbelief of the promise of God, to protect and defend his church to the end of the world. The magistrate’s authority can never enforce any principle of religion upon the consciences of men, which the truth and evidence thereof have not enforced before, and in that case all civil authority in behalf of religion is needless and absurd. The pastors, and members of christian churches, have as good a right to judge for themselves what they ought to believe, as any supreme magistrate, or prince upon earth. There is no security that princes or lawgivers shall not err, or that they shall judge right concerning the founders of religion : for they may be as ready to take sides with those who are on the wrong, as those who are on the right side of the question. All that is incumbent on the civil magistrate to do in behalf of religion, is to choose his own profession, and protect all the rest of his subjects in the free exercise of theirs, as long as they live soberly, and behave as good members of civil society. It is highly reasonable that the prince should have power to choose which form of religion may appear to him to be best, but his subjects ought to have the same privilege, and neither the majority nor minority be suffered to impose upon one another, while they entertain no principles inconsistent with the safety of government. The bishop observes, “ that when the christian belief had not the  
“ support

" support of law, every bishop taught his flock the best way he could, and gave his neighbours such an account of his faith, at, or soon after, his consecration as satisfied them ;" and so says his lordship " they maintained the unity of the church." This was undoubtedly a better method than to force people to profess what they cannot believe, or to propagate religion by fire and sword, as was too often the practice of our reformers.

From the time that Hooper was consecrated, the contest concerning vestments had continued. The stricter party looked upon the distinctions of garments as altogether superstitious, and fragments of popery, and on that account refused to use them from a principle of conscience. The chief of the clergy who were in power, looked upon them as indifferent, but imposed them upon others on pain of deprivation, and severe censure. This was certainly very unchristian; for as they themselves declared them to be indifferent, they ought not, according to the laws of christianity, to have imposed them upon their brethren. The only plausible pretence they had for their conduct was, that the magistrate commanded them; but as their brethren made it a matter of conscience, and they themselves accounted it indifferent what sort of robes they wore, it lay beyond the magistrate's jurisdiction. As these vestments could neither make them better men, nor more loyal subjects, it was cruel to impose them upon them, when their consciences would not permit them to use them.

During the reign of Edward, the reformation promised fair to go on, and the King did all he could

could to promote it; but the clergy were so full of pride and popish sentiments, that they opposed it with all their might. The greatest length that the leaders of the reformation could attain to, was, to retrench something of popery, and leave the form of the Romish religion in as decent order as they could. One thing which hindered the progress of the reformation of religion in England, and stopt it sooner than it ought to have been, was the great anxiety of the clergy to be obsequious to the King and court. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and the rest of the reformers, always concluded that they should proceed in nothing, unless the court went along with them; and whenever the King and council found it inconsistent with their private ends to proceed, the reformers looked upon it as a call in providence for them to wait, until the civil powers should again begin to move in the reformation. In this respect the clergy were mere creatures of the civil powers, and made it their study to form religion in England, according to the taste of the powers which were then in being; so that the reformation and the system of religious policy, which was established thereon, has never amounted to any thing more than a state religion, or a part of the constitution of England. The very articles of what was then called the christian religion, were composed according to the taste of the court, and the humour of the King; and the clergy were so obsequious to the orders of the council, that in process of time it became natural to them to think that religion should keep pace with the pleasure of civil governors.



In the reign of Edward, the reformers had a fair opportunity to have made greater progress in the reformation of religion, for the King earnestly desired it : but the popish part of his council, and the popish clergy strenuously opposed all proceedings of this sort. And the reformers themselves mistaking the true method of advancing it, it came little farther than it had done in the former reign. The method of proceeding by act of parliament, or order of the King's council, in every article of religious reformation, was not a likely method to reform a whole nation from popish superstition ; for as long as rational conviction is not offered to men's minds, no true reformation can be expected. To force men to be religious by penal laws, means no more than that they shall be of the same profession with the law-makers, or suffer loss ; but if their minds revolt from the principles proposed to their assent, they cannot be of the same opinion, though for fear they should even say so. In the reigns of Henry the eighth, and his son Edward, what truly may be called a reformation, was promoted by printing and publishing the Bible in English, and allowing the people the free use thereof. This source of divine knowledge, when once it was opened, had more influence upon the minds of men than all the statutes which ever had been made in behalf of religion. The doctrines contained therein afforded rational conviction, and made way to the heart : and when once people were well assured, what was the will of God, they were less careful

ful to consider the dogmas of men, or the inventions of the clergy. They sustained themselves judges of human compositions, and tried them by the word of God, which is the only judge of all religious controversies. As long as they had no rule to judge by, except what each party said for themselves, they were ready to be misled by the authority of great names, or the influence of numbers; but when the word of God was once in their possession, they judged both parties thereby, and followed neither, but so far as they spake according to this rule. When once the laity were instructed by the scriptures, in their privileges as christians, it was out of the power of the clergy of the church of Rome, or any other church, to make them believe the absurdities of popish superstition, or cause them to submit tamely to any lordship over their consciences. Prudence directed them frequently to conceal their sentiments for fear of persecution, while in private, they observed a form of religion different from what was authorised by law: and though they seemed outwardly to agree with the established forms, they were otherwise persuaded in their own minds. These sentiments at last became settled principles in their hearts, and made many of the very lowest class of people resist the established religion unto blood. One thing remarkable in the behaviour of those who suffered for religion in these times is, that they seemed no ways disposed to impose their opinions upon others, but only wanted the liberty to enjoy their own. This

shews plainly, that they were directed by the Scriptures, and guided by the light of the New Testament, which allows all christians the liberty of their thoughts, independent upon all human authority. In after times, when the reformed religion became a part of the policy of the nation, the professors thereof began to impose it upon others, in the same manner, and on the like penalties, as popery had been imposed before; which shews, that whatever form of religion men may profess, when it is used for political purposes, it naturally disposes them to restrain the liberty of others. The very idea of temporal emoluments, and wordly honours, being connected with religion, tends to corrupt the mind, and to inflame the passions with a desire of worldly riches and grandeur; by which means, men become indifferent to spiritual things, and in process of time neglect them altogether. It would be a great happiness for the church of God to have liberal provisions made for the pastors thereof, provided that experience had not proved that this wordly advantage has always been hurtful to true religion. Even nations, as they grow rich and wealthy, turn wicked; and there is no reason to expect that church members abounding in all the pleasures of sense, and enjoying all the gratifications of their appetites, will long prove steadfast in the faith. Providence has wisely ordered that when true reformation is designed to be promoted, the alliterations to wordly greatness, and excitements to temporal ease and glory, are removed from the view of the reformers,

mers, lest objects of sense should interrupt their pursuits in carrying on a work which only can be carried on by faith, and not by sense. There is not sufficient proof to confirm a judicious person, that there is as much real virtue in the world, as will determine men in spite of worldly grandeur and riches, to pursue truth for its own sake. Experience testifies what effect a change of circumstances has often had upon many who have professed the christian religion; and how they have fallen from their profession by temptations arising from riches, honour and preferment. From the same principles that may betray their country, others betray the cause of christianity. Providence is wise in removing these out of the way when a reformation is to be carried on. The christian religion at first was promoted under every worldly disadvantage, and since has never needed the least reformation, except when it was corrupted by policy.

There is much reason to believe, that if all the civil governments since the days of the apostles had never interfered with religion any otherwise than by professing what form thereof appeared best to them, and protected all their subjects in the enjoyment of that species of christianity, which their own consciences suggested to them, from a right perusal of the holy scriptures, while they maintained no principles inconsistent with the peace of civil society, there would have been more true godliness among professed christians than there frequently has been. It happens often in political

tical establishments, as in affairs of state, that when those who think themselves worthy of preferment are disappointed, they turn querelous, and become enemies to that government which they expected would have preferred them; whence it sometimes happens in case of any commotion, or jarring in politics, that the clergy have it in their power to give the state a great deal of trouble: but when men have no such expectations there cannot be such cause of offence. When religion is left to make its way to the hearts of men, by its own evidence, it promises to have a more lasting effect than when they are tempted to be religious by the influence of wealth, splendour, or greatness.

Had King Henry the Eighth permitted all his subjects to peruse the Bible, and practise what form of religion they pleased, and only exerted his authority to prevent them from injuring one another, or disturbing the public peace, there is reason to think there would have been more true reformation in one reign than has ever yet been attained. The progress of religion has always been interrupted, by the intervention of some authority, which has prescribed the limits of godliness, or extended its bounds according to the pleasure of politicians: and the minds of men have been cramped by certain creeds and articles not altogether consistent with divine revelation. By this means what was intended to prevent infidelity, and promote christianity, has unhappily promoted the first, and interrupted the latter,

latter. The very supposition that religion needs any other aid or assistance; besides its own power and evidence, suggests a doubt of its authenticity, and has given a handle to infidels to call it in question: and what shews the inutility of all human articles is, that in the controversy concerning the christian religion they are of no service; for no adversary will admit them, and the friends of the gospel, are obliged in that case to give them up. In France where both civil and ecclesiastical authority are exerted in an high degree, in behalf of the church, there are perhaps more deists than in any other nation in Europe. If any form of religion is made a part of the constitution of a nation, and cannot be altered without endangering the constitution, let it by all means continue as it is, and those whose consciences permit them to use that form, let them have their reward; but it is certainly unreasonable to admit any penal laws against others for non-conformity, or make their religion the means of hindering them to be serviceable to civil government. A good subject is certainly entitled to the favour of civil authority, though his conscience may not permit him to join in the established worship, or approve of the national religion.

The death of Queen Mary produced very different effects in the minds of the subjects. The papists were full of fears, lest Elizabeth, when she should be advanced to the throne, should resent the ill treatment she had received from them; the  
pro-

protestants were overjoyed with the hope, that the new Queen would certainly promote the reformation. The death of Mary was concealed for a few hours, but it is uncertain what were the deliberations of the courtiers on this occasion. The Lord Chancellor went at last to the house of Lords, and imparted the news of the Queen's death to them. This information struck the Bishops with the greatest confusion, and filled all the counsellors with terror. The consciousness of their own guilt, in the manner they had behaved to Elizabeth, made them fear evils which never happened, but which they knew they justly deserved. They expected Elizabeth would repay in kind, the treatment they had given her, and were confounded at the thoughts of appearing before her. They had but one shift which appeared plausible to preserve themselves from her resentment, and that was, to comply readily with her preferment to the throne. To this resolution they adhered, and by the Chancellor, sent to the house of Commons, signifying their sorrow for the loss of the Queen; but that their grief was so much the more alleviated, because there was such an agreeable successor to be preferred to the throne, who was the undoubted heir to the crown, and concerning whose right and title there was no dispute. This was a method of changing, very common in those times, and what these very same persons had often practised before, on several occasions. The language of courtiers and time-servers, has been much the same in all ages; for  
they

they generally flatter when they are in expectation of preferment, and tyrannize when they are in power. Hope or fear changes the tone of their language, and makes them express flattery or austerity, according to the force of their present feelings.

The parliament was now dissolved by the death of the late Queen, when Elizabeth was proclaimed by the Lords. The Mayor of London also proclaimed Elizabeth Queen, when the populace expressed the highest satisfaction that ever had appeared on such an occasion. Mary's death seemed totally forgotten, and the joy of the nation in general at the preferment of Elizabeth, shewed plainly that the subjects believed they were now in expectation of a release from tyranny and bondage. Few except the priests shewed any marks of grief on this occasion, who being despised and laughed at by the populace, were obliged to flink away, and conceal themselves in their secret retreats, to indulge their spleen, instead of joining in the festivity of the occasion.

The Queen was now at Hatfield when the news of her sister's death, and of her own advancement, were brought to her, when she proceeded in her way to London. All the Bishops met her at Highgate, whom she received civilly, except Bonner, whom she considered as so polluted with blood, that she thought proper to shew some marks of disrespect to him. She was received into the city with the highest exclamations of joy, and respect, that ever had been seen on the like occasions.



People of all ranks were overjoyed at the hopes of enjoying the free exercise of their religion and liberty under the government of the new Queen.

As soon as the tidings of this great change were carried beyond seas, the reformers who had fled on account of the persecution, returned home; and such as lay concealed in the houses of their friends, began to appear. The public religion continued for some time in the same posture as it had done in the late Queen's reign: the popish priests enjoyed their livings, and discharged their functions. None of the protestant clergy who had been banished in the former reign were yet restored; and orders were given, that no innovations should be made without public authority. Elizabeth proceeded with caution; and tho' she favoured the reformed religion, yet was she not so very strict in her belief thereof as to endanger her crown, by promoting it too zealously. Perhaps no Prince ascended the throne under more disadvantages. The Pope had declared her illegitimate, and the Queen of Scotland laid claim to her kingdom; the established clergy were her enemies, the nation was at war with France, and the treasury exhausted. Elizabeth wanted first to settle public affairs and establish peace with her neighbours, before she proceeded to reform the church.

The Queen loved splendour in her religion, and magnificence in her devotions. She had much of the temper of her father, and was rather arbitrary in her disposition. She loved many of the old popish rituals in which she had been educated, and thought

thought her brother Edward had made religion too bare, by stripping it of so many of its ornaments; and that he had made the doctrine of religion too narrow in some points. She could hardly be prevailed with to proceed so far as Edward had done. The principal thing which the Queen did with regard to religion, before the meeting of parliament, was to prevent all disputes in the pulpit. Some of the reformers who had been preachers in the reign of Edward, began to make use of his service book, without authority or licence from their superiors: this alarmed the popish clergy, and gave occasion to a proclamation, dated the twenty-seventh of December, prohibiting all ministers to preach, and the people were forbidden to hear any other doctrine except the epistle and gospel for the day, and the ten commandments, in English, without any comment or paraphrase. This proclamation admits of the litany, the Lord's prayer, and creed, in English: but no public prayers were to be read in the church, except such as were appointed by law, till the meeting of parliament, which was to assemble on the twenty-third of January.

The writs for a new parliament were issued by Bacon, who was now appointed keeper of the great seal. On the fifth of December the Queen performed the funeral rites of her sister at Westminster, with great magnificence. The bishop of Winchester preached the funeral sermon in which he extolled the government of the late Queen, and reflected with great severity upon those who had begun to commit disorders, and offered an

open insult to the character of Elizabeth, for which he was confined to his house till the parliament should meet.

V A principal object of the deliberations of the Queen and her council, was how to supply the principal bishopricks which were now vacant, or should henceforth happen to be vacant, through the incorrigibleness of the Bishops, who were strongly attached to popery. Canterbury, Hereford, Bristol, and Bangor were now vacant; the Bishops of Norwich and Gloucester died the next year; and it is reported that there were only fourteen Bishops living when the parliament met. It was reckoned a matter of great importance to find men sufficiently qualified to serve in these vacant bishopricks, especially in the see of Canterbury: for this Parker was afterwards fixed upon.

While the exiles were preparing to return home, several letters passed between them to settle their differences before they returned to their native country. They had divided concerning the liturgy of Edward the Sixth, at Franckfort, and were not yet reconciled to one another. Those of Geneva desired a mutual forgiveness, and prayed their brethren of Arrow Bassil, Franckfort, Strasburgh, and Worms to join with them in preaching God's word, and in endeavouring to obtain such a form of worship as they had seen practised in the best reformed churches. The others replied, that they were willing to comply in things indifferent, and hoped that those of Geneva would do the same; and said that they were ready to join with their brethren in petitioning the  
Queen

Queen, that nothing truly burthensome might be imposed upon them. Both parties congratulated her Majesty's accession to the throne, in poems, addresses, and dedications of books, but they were reduced to the utmost poverty and distress; for they returned to their native country almost destitute of every thing except learning, experience, and a good conscience. Those who could comply with the establishment were soon preferred, but the rest were neglected, and reduced to great poverty and distress.

The sufferings which those divines had undergone had not such a good effect upon them as might have been expected; for they brought home with them a spirit of antipathy against one another, and shewed an aversion to almost every expedient which was proposed for carrying on the reformation. Some were for carrying it on in a vigorous manner, and wanted to abolish all the vestiges of popery; others were for retaining certain modes, vestments, and forms of worship, to make christianity appear decent like, and to make it agreeable to the taste of those who loved to have something gaudy in their way of approaching unto God. The friends of the reformation abroad did all that they could to persuade the English reformers to proceed to a thorough and perfect reformation; Gwalter, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and Weidner advised them strongly to this; but those who were disposed to temporize, were the majority, and these had the countenance of the Queen, which at that time was the chief spring for carrying

rying on religious projects. Cox, Grindal, Horn, and Pilkington, with some others, not only wanted courage to proceed, but did not love such a perfect reformation as their brethren abroad recommended; their minds were still full of the ideas of magnificence which the trapping of popery had suggested, and they could not think of stripping true godliness of that finery which recommends her to the senses of men.

The court concerted their measures in such a manner with regard to elections, that such members were chosen for representatives in parliament as were well affected to the protestant religion, so that when the parliament assembled there was a majority on the side of the reformation. The first trial which was made of the disposition of the commons, was the bringing in a bill for restoring the first-fruits and tenths which Mary had restored to the church. This bill passed in the house of commons without much opposition, on the fourth of February; but when it came to the house of Lords all the Bishops were against it. Another act was passed, that no person should be disturbed or punished for exercising the religion which was practised in the reign of Edward the Sixth; and the public service was appointed to be performed in the vulgar tongue. The Queen was now impowered to nominate Bishops to vacant sees by a conge d'elire, as is practised still; and the religious houses which were founded by Mary were suppressed, and annexed to the crown. Two principal acts passed this session, namely, the acts of supremacy, and of uniformity of common prayer.

The

The first is entitled, An act for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual; and for abolishing foreign power. This law is the same for substance with that of the twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth; but the commons incorporated some other bills into it; for together with the title of Supreme Governor in all causes, ecclesiastical and temporal, which is restored to the Queen, the act restores the laws of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth which had been repealed in the preceding reign. It forbids all appeals to Rome, and frees the subjects from all burdens and exactions paid to that court. It repeals a severe law made in the preceding reign against heresy; and enjoins that all persons in public employments, civil or ecclesiastical, shall be obliged to take an oath to recognize the Queen's right to the crown, and of her supremacy in all causes ecclesiastical and civil, on penalty of forfeiting all their promotions in the church, and of being declared incapable of holding any public office. This act of supremacy overturned all that had been done in the preceding reign, and brought the policy of the church near to the same pitch it was in the reign of Edward the Sixth. This act made it high treason in case any person was thrice convicted of writing or publishing any thing contrary to the tenor thereof.

One remarkable clause in this act gave rise to a new court, called the High Commission Court, which afterwards became an intolerable grievance to the nation. By this clause the Queen and her successors had

had power by their letters patent under the great seal, to appoint such persons as they shall think proper; and for as long time as they please, provided they are natural-born subjects, to use, occupy, or exercise, under her or them, all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realms of England and Ireland, &c. And to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever: provided that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy but what has been judged to be so by the authority of canonical scripture, or by the first four general councils, or any of them; or by any other general council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of canonical scripture, or such as shall hereafter be declared to be heresy by the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation.

Upon the authority of this clause the Queen appointed a certain number of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who exercised the same power which the vicegerent of Henry the Eighth had done before. This power was frequently much abused in the reigns of James the First and his son Charles, as will afterwards be made appear. These commissioners seldom consulted the express words of scripture, or the opinions of general councils. They found a far shorter and easier method of proceeding. They entangled their prisoner with oaths *ex officio*, and the inextricable perplexities of the  
popish

popish canon law; and tho' it is common for all ecclesiastical courts to be subject to a prohibition from the courts of Westminster, yet this privilege was seldom allowed. These commissioners sported themselves in the most wanton acts of tyranny and oppression, till their names became hateful to the whole nation; so at last their proceedings were condemned by the united voice of the people of England, and the court was dissolved by act of parliament, with this clause, that no such jurisdiction should be revived for the future in any court whatsoever.

Bishop Burnet thinks that this supremacy falls short of what King Henry the Eighth claimed, and what was sometimes practised by Elizabeth, who often stretched her prerogative beyond it. However far some Princes have gone beyond this act of supremacy, yet it is abundantly plain that it grants power to the Kings of England, in matters of religion, which is inconsistent with the free exercise thereof. Henry the Eighth declared to the convocation of York, that he claimed no higher supremacy than christian Princes had done in the primitive times over their subjects; yet it is capable of demonstration, that no christian Emperors claimed such a jurisdiction as that which both Henry and all the Kings of England since have a right to claim by virtue of this act of supremacy. By this supremacy the whole power which was originally in the times of popery lodged in the Bishop of Rome, was now lodged in the hands of the Kings of England, and they have it in their power to



alter or reform religion according as they shall seem meet. Hooker allows, in his Ecclesiastical Polity, that if the whole ecclesiastical state should stand in need of being visited or reformed; or when any part of the church is infested with errors, schisms, or heresies, whatsoever spiritual powers the Legates had from the see of Rome, and exercised in right of the Pope for remedying evils, without violating the laws of God or nature; as much in every degree have our laws granted to the King for ever, whether he thinks fit to exercise it by ecclesiastical synods, or otherwise according to law.

What Hooker says belongs to the Kings of England by law, has been frequently claimed by them to the no small grief of many of their subjects. This supremacy sets aside the twentieth article of the church of England, which says, "that the church has authority in matters of faith;" for by this act the King or his delegates have a right to determine what is sound doctrine or heresy, and to command the clergy to preach it under pain of a premunire. And it is beyond all dispute, that the King of England is the ultimate judge in all discipline in spiritual courts.

The act of uniformity, which passed at the same time with the act of supremacy, very much strengthens and enlarges the power of the Queen; for it says, "that the Queen's Majesty, by advice of ecclesiastical commissioners, or of her metropolitan, may ordain and publish such ceremonies or rites as may be most for the glory of God, and the edifying of the church." Accordingly  
her

her Majesty published her injunctions, without sending them to either the convocation or parliament, and set up a court of high commission for ecclesiastical causes, consisting of commissioners of her own appointing, to see them put in execution. So zealous was Elizabeth for this branch of her prerogative, that she would not suffer her high court of parliament to pass any bill for the amendment or alteration of the ceremonies of the church, it being, as she said, an invasion of her prerogative.

From this time the Kings and Queens of England have on many occasions claimed the supreme jurisdiction in all matters of religion, not only over the common people, but likewise over the very chief of the clergy; and they have it yet in their power to do so, and act according to law when they do it. They have and may still claim the sole power of the nomination of Bishops; for the Dean and Chapter are obliged to choose whom the King names, under the penalty of a premunire, and after they are chosen they cannot act except they have a commission from the crown.

No convocations or synods of the clergy can assemble but by a writ from the crown, and when assembled they can do no business without the King's letters patent, appointing them the particular subjects they are to debate upon: and after all, their decrees are of no force without the royal sanction.

It is abundantly evident from the express words of several statutes, that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, was given to the King, and taken away from the Bishops, except by delegation from him.

The King was made chief in the determination of all causes in the church ; he had authority to make laws, ceremonies, and constitutions, and without him no such laws, ceremonies, or constitutions are, or ought to be, of any force. All appeals which were formerly made to Rome, are for ever hereafter to be made to his Majesty's Chancellor, to be decided and determined by delegates.

The greatest part of the catholics refused the oath of supremacy, as inconsistent with their allegiance to the Pope ; but the friends of the reformation took it, according to an explanation thereof given by the Queen, annexed to her injunctions. This explanation sets forth, " that her Majesty " meant no more than that, under God, she had " the sovereignty over all persons born in her " realms, either ecclesiastical or temporal, so as no " foreign power had, or ought to have authority " over them." This was far from being the whole import of the oath of supremacy ; and those persons who swore the oath could not but perceive that more was intended. Elizabeth's explication of the act of the supremacy, is expressly contrary to the act itself, which affirms, that her Majesty, under Christ, is head of the church of England ; whereas the explanation makes her Majesty only sovereign over all subjects born within her realms.

In this age the boundaries between things civil and ecclesiastical were not well ascertained : things civil and religious were blended together, without considering the just and necessary distinctions which revelation hath fixed between them. The pride of  
Princes,

Princes, and the selfish disposition which prevailed among churchmen, disposed the first to mingle religion with state affairs, and the latter to receive the miscellany as good and necessary. The power of the civil magistrate appears chiefly to respect the civil welfare and happiness of the subjects: it is his duty to protect them in their properties, and in the peaceable enjoyment of their civil and religious rights; but there is no warrant from revelation for magistrates assuming a lordship over the consciences of men, or any authority in matters of faith. It is equally contrary to reason, which teacheth, that religion should proceed from free and deliberate choice. There is no more reason that subjects should believe as the King believes, than there is for their believing as the Pope and the church doth. The understandings of men are not all alike, and are not equally capable of receiving the same doctrine; and while they do not understand, they cannot rationally believe. To make ecclesiastical laws, to oblige men to practice the same form of religion under severe penalties, with or without conviction of the truth thereof, is a manifest encroachment upon the kingly power of Jesus Christ, and a violation of the rights of conscience, which ought always to be left free. Besides, the jurisdiction of all churches, according to the New Testament, is spiritual, and no person can be obliged by rewards or punishments to become a member of a christian society, or to continue longer in it than he perceives it to be his duty. The weapons of the christian warfare

warfare are not carnal, but spiritual; scripture and reason are only spiritual weapons.

Had our reformers considered these principles in this reign, they might have proceeded with more ease in reforming the nation, and much less disturbance both to themselves and others. As long as men's principles are not inconsistent with civil government they ought to be protected in the use of them, by the civil powers. All forms of religion which promote civil discord or disobedience to magistrates ought not to be encouraged; for it never can be a right form of godliness which denies obedience to the lawful commands of civil authority. Uniformity in public worship, enforced by penal laws, has the greatest tendency to destroy moral principles; for those who through fear of punishment comply with the established form of religion and do not believe it, will take the first opportunity to betray it when that fear is removed, or it turns to their advantage.

To pave the way for an uniformity in 1559. religion, a dispute was appointed by the authority of the Queen, in Westminster Abbey, before the privy council and both houses of parliament, on the thirty-first of March, one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, between nine popish Bishops and the like number of protestant Divines, upon these three points:

1. Whether it was not contrary to scripture, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a language unknown to the people in the common prayers and the sacraments?

2. Whe-

2. Whether every church had not authority to appoint, change, and remove ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, provided the same was done to the use of edifying?

3. Whether it could be proved by the word of God, that in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead?

This disputation was to be performed in writing, but the papists broke it off after the first day, because they found the popular clamour and common sense was against them. They pretended that the catholic cause ought not to be submitted to such judges: they affirmed further, that the catholic doctrine was already established, and that it was too great an encouragement to heretics, to admit their religion to be disputed before a multitude. They said that the Queen deserved to be excommunicated, and threatened to discharge the thunders of the church against the privy council; for which the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were sent to the Tower. This gave the reformers great advantage over the catholics; for their refusing to dispute in public, was interpreted to proceed from fear that their cause could not endure examination. This prepared the minds of the populace for further changes, which afterwards happened.

The papists having deserted the field, the next attempt was to unite the protestants among themselves, and to obtain such an establishment as might make them all easy: for though the contending parties among them had written letters of forgiveness concerning the affair at Franckfort, and were  
much

✓ much the same in their opinions concerning doctrines, yet they were far from being unanimous with regard to discipline and ceremonies. Some were for having the service of Edward the Sixth established, and were not for withdrawing any farther from the church of Rome, than they thought was necessary to recover the purity of faith, and the independency of the church upon any foreign power: others were for having the service and discipline of the English at Geneva brought in. The first thought rites and ceremonies to be matters of indifference, and thought those of the church of Rome preferable to any others, because they were splendid and venerable, and the people had been long accustomed to them. The other party considered them as fragments of superstition, and remnants of popery, which they called the rags of the whore of Babylon. The sentiments of the Queen agreed with the opinion of the first. Upon this a committee was appointed to review King Edward's liturgy, and to enquire if any alterations were needful to be made. This committee consisted of persons well affected to the Queen's proposals. Drs Parker, Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, May, Bill, Whitehead, and Sir Thomas Smith, Doctor of Civil Law, were the members of this committee. They had instructions to dash out all offensive passages against the Pope, and to make people easy concerning the belief of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, but there was no favour shewed to conscientious protestants who could not agree with many superstitious things in the liturgy.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth was afraid of removing too far from popery ; for she wanted to retain in the churches, images, crucifixes, and crosses, vocal and instrumental music, with all the old garments. The puritans had no favour shewed them in this reformation. They received this name because they attempted a purer discipline than what was now about to be established. The Queen was much kinder to the papists than to them, and ordered several offensive passages to be struck out of the liturgy to please them. There was this passage in Edward's Prayer Book : " From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us," which was dashed out. Another which says, by kneeling at the sacrament no adoration was intended to any corporal presence of Christ, was also cancelled. The committee of Divines left the people at liberty to receive the sacrament either kneeling or standing ; but the Queen and parliament restrained the posture to kneeling. This was purely an act of the state. The old festivals were continued as in the second year of Edward the Sixth, till the Queen should please to remove them. Some alteration was made in the collects, and thus the book was presented to both houses of parliament, and passed into a law. It was not quite so perfect as that which was confirmed by parliament in the fifth year of the reign of Edward, for in that liturgy all the garments were laid aside except the surplice, but now copes and the rest of the robes were ordered to be used. Elizabeth loved a magnificent form of godli-



ness, and carried her pride through the whole form of her religion.

The title of the act establishing this liturgy is, An act for uniformity of common prayer and service in the church, and administration of the sacraments. It was brought into the house of commons on the eighteenth of April, and passed the house on the twenty-eighth of the same month. It took place from the twenty-fourth of June, one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine. Heath Archbishop of York, opposed it, and made an elegant speech against it; in which he observed very justly, "that an act of such consequence ought to have had the consent of the clergy in convocation, before it was passed into a law. He said, that not only the orthodox, but even the arian Emperors, ordered, that matters of faith should be examined by councils: and Galio, by the light of nature, knew that a civil Judge ought not to interfere in matters of religion." He was over-ruled, the act of supremacy having already lodged this power in the crown. Heath certainly deserves applause for the opposition he made to this act, but more for his judicious comment upon a passage of holy scripture, which has so often been misapplied.

This act of uniformity was the source of much trouble and grief to many of her Majesty's good subjects. The framers of this act accounted ceremonies indifferent, and yet they imposed them on severe penalties. This was cruel to the highest degree: nothing but mere wantonness could dispose men to impose indifferent things upon others who could

could not in conscience observe them. The very notion which the imposers had of their indifference, ought to have prevented them from making any law concerning them. It is altogether contrary to the tenor of the gospel to force men to practise any religious rites, but more especially so, with regard to those things which are confessed to be merely indifferent.

The papists and puritans both suffered in consequence of this law. The catholics in convocation endeavoured to defend the old religion, and agreed to the following articles.—That in the sacrament of the altar the natural body of Christ is really present, by virtue of the words of consecration pronounced by the priest.—That after the consecration, there remains not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but God-man.—That in the mass the true body of Christ is offered as a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.—That the supreme power of feeding and ruling the church is in St Peter and his successors.—That the authority of determining matters of faith and discipline belongs only to the pastors of the church, and not lay-men. These articles were presented to the Lord Keeper by their Prolocutor, Dr Harpsfield, but the Keeper gave them no answer; nor did the convocation proceed any farther in matters of religion.

As soon as the sessions were ended, the oath of supremacy was tendered to the Bishops, who all refused to swear it, except Dr Kitchen, Bishop of Landaff. There were fourteen who refused

this oath ; the rest of the sees were all vacant. The popish Bishops were deprived : some fled beyond sea, as Dr Pate Bishop of Worcester, Scot of Chester, and Godwell of St Asaph ; Heath Archbishop of York was permitted to live at his own house, where he received some visits from the Queen ; Tonsal and Thirleby, Bishops of Durham and Ely, lived at Lambeth, in the house of Archbishop Parker, who used them very discreetly : the rest were permitted to go at large upon their parole, except Bonner and Watson, Bishops of London and Lincoln, who had been so deeply engaged in the murders committed in the preceding reign, that it was thought just to set some special mark of disrespect upon them for their former conduct. They were therefore made close prisoners ; but they had a sufficient maintenance allowed them by the Queen. The greatest part of the monks returned to a secular life, but the nuns went beyond sea, and all others who wanted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

Some of the reformers were offered bishoprics, and refused them on account of the habits, and ceremonies ; such as Mr Whitehead, Mr Bernard Gilpin, Miles Coverdale, Mr Knox, Mr Thomas Simpson, and some others. Some who accepted did it with some reluctance, and against their consciences : they expected that by their compliance they would have it in their power to promote the reformation, but they proceeded but a short way in executing their purposes. Grindal, Parkhurst, Sandys,

Sandys, and Pilkington were among these timid compliers.

The transactions concerning religion for this year drew near a conclusion, and were finished with the consecration of Dr Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated at Lambeth, on the seventeenth of December, one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, by some Bishops who had been deprived in the preceding reign; for none of the present Bishops would have any concern in his consecration. The persons concerned in his consecration were Barlow Bishop Elect of Chichester, Scory of Hereford, Miles Coverdale, the deprived Bishop of Exeter, and Hodgkins Suffragan of Bedford. The two former appeared in the chimere and surplice, but the two latter wore long gowns open at the arms, with a falling cape on the shoulders. The ceremony was performed in a plain manner, without gloves or sandals, ring or slippers, mitre or pall, or even without any of the Jewish garments, only by the imposition of hands and prayer. Parker was more easily satisfied at this time than he was some time after; for he was a violent imposer of popish garments upon others. This consecration was by many not thought canonical; because the persons who performed it were legally deprived in the preceding reign; and even the Archbishop himself began to doubt of it: for this reason it was ratified in parliament seven years after to make it truly canonical.

The Roman catholics teased the Bishops at this time concerning the Archbishop's consecration, and  
alledged

alleged that all who were afterwards consecrated were not lawful Bishops, because a man who was not rightly consecrated himself could not transmit orders lawfully to others. The clergy of the church of England have found themselves under much difficulty to prove an uninterrupted succession of Bishops in their church; and the Romish clergy upon this point seem to have by far the better of the argument. It has been affirmed in behalf of this consecration, that though these Bishops who performed it were legally deprived in the preceding reign, and were not restored, yet their episcopal character remained, and they might convey it. The papists have an answer ready for this, and reply, that the same power which gives orders may take them away, when the persons who have received them act contrary to the laws of the church, and come short in canonical obedience; and this they affirm was the case with regard to these Bishops in the reign of Mary. They refused obedience to the church of Rome, and would not submit to the laws of the land which established that religion; for this reason they were deprived, and lost all the authority which they had. The high church party have often affirmed, that the ordination of the clergy of the church of Scotland is not valid, because that Calvin was never ordained, from whom they alledge all the presbyterians have derived their authority. But there is as much certainty concerning Calvin's ordination, as there is concerning Parker's consecration; so the two sister churches ought to drop that point. The story of  
the

the nag's head consecration may perhaps be fabulous, and all the protestant historians agree that it is; but after all that has been said to prove an uninterrupted succession of Bishops in the church of England; it does not appear, according to the usual method of consecration, that the consecration of Parker was really canonical.

The Archbishop soon after his being installed consecrated several of his brethren, whom the Queen had appointed to the vacant sees. Grindal was made Bishop of London, Horn of Winchester, and Pilkington of Durham. Thus the reformation was restored; and the church of England established upon the basis on which it now stands. The Bishops who were now consecrated were in general very poor, and made but a mean figure when compared with their predecessors. They were unacquainted with courts, and were not accustomed to equipages and numerous attendants; but as they grew rich they soon learned the fashions, and raised their deportments till they became as lordly prelates as others of their predecessors. A change of circumstances very often alters the disposition of the minds of men. Preferment in the world is as great an enemy to true virtue as poverty; for where one behaves ill when poor, there are hundreds that act unbecomingly when they grow rich.

The hierarchy was now at its height, and the sentiments of mankind were very various concerning it. Those who now were called by the name of puritans looked upon the greatest part of the reformation which was now attained as fragments of

of popery, and could not in conscience comply with the superstitious form of worship which was now established. They were of opinion that the reformation should have proceeded farther, and the ancient simplicity of gospel worship should have been restored. They considered the church of Rome as the very Antichrist, with whom they could have no manner of fellowship; and looked upon every conformity to those rites which were practised in that church as sinful, and therefore could not in conscience comply therewith. They disowned all foreign jurisdiction over the church, but could not admit of that extensive power of the crown, which claimed a supremacy over the church in all matters of religion. The court reformers admitted the church of Rome to be a true church, though corrupted in some points of doctrine, and government, and allowed that all her administrations were valid; that the Pope was a true Bishop of Rome, though not of the church universal. This was thought necessary to support the character of the Bishops in England, who could not otherwise derive their succession from the Apostles. Both parties agreed that the holy scriptures were a perfect rule of faith; but the Bishops and court reformers tho' they allowed them to be a standard of discipline and church government, yet affirmed that our Saviour and his Apostles left it to the discretion of the civil magistrate, in those places where christianity was professed, to accommodate the government of the church to the policy of the state. The puritans apprehended the holy scriptures to be a standard of church

church discipline as well as doctrine, and that nothing ought to be imposed upon men as necessary, but what was expressly contained in or derived from the scriptures by necessary consequence: and in case it could not be proved that all things necessary for church government were not deduced from the scriptures, they maintained that the discretionary power belonged to the clergy, and not to the civil magistrate. Many arguments were deduced from the practice of the primitive church for the first five centuries, to prove that the government of the church was imperfect in the apostolic times, and that the forms of order afterwards received, were better suited to an establishment. To these the puritans replied, that the Bible was the only guide to direct us in the chief principles of church government, and that no church officers or ordinances were to be admitted which were not recorded therein. They affirmed, that the form of government appointed by the Apostles was aristocratical, according to the constitution of the Jewish sanhedrim, and was designed as a pattern for churches in after ages, not to be departed from in any of its main principles; and therefore they paid no regard to the customs of popery, or the practice of the earlier ages of christianity, any farther than they agreed with the Bible.

It was a point strongly insisted upon by the friends of the hierarchy, that things indifferent in their own nature, which are neither commanded nor prohibited in the scriptures, such as rites, ceremonies, and habits, might be settled, deter-



mined, and made necessary by the authority of the civil magistrate; and in such cases it was the indispensable duty of all subjects to observe them. To this it was replied, that those things which Christ had left indifferent, ought not to be made necessary by any human laws, but that christians should stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ had made them free: and it was added, that such ceremonies as were superstitious, and had been so often abused to idolatry, were no longer indifferent, but ought to be rejected as unlawful. In this manner did the two parties combat each other. One thing they agreed in, which was absurd in the first instance, and that was in asserting the necessity of an uniformity of public worship, and of calling in the assistance of the civil magistrate to support their several opinions. Both sides made an ill use of the civil sword when they had it in their power, and persecuted one another for non-conformity. This shewed that they were tinctured with the leaven of popery on both sides, and equally distant from the spirit of the New Testament. The standard which the Bishops went by, was the Queen's supremacy, and the laws of the land; and the puritans held by the decrees of provincial and national synods, enforced by the civil power. Both parties were equally enemies to liberty of conscience, and that freedom of profession which is every man's right, as far as it is consistent with the peace of the government he lives under.

The principle upon which the Bishops justified their proceedings against the puritans in this and the

the following reign, was the subjects obligation to obey the laws of their country in all things which are indifferent, and neither commanded nor forbidden in the law of God. The puritans argued, that Christ was the sole lawgiver of his church, in all things necessary to be observed to the end of the world; and that it was criminal in any person to part with the liberty he had granted them in obedience to any power upon earth.

The reformation being now settled, the Queen issued commissions for a general visitation, and set forth a collection of injunctions, consisting of fifty-three articles, commanding all her loving subjects to observe them in their different stations, and in their different offices and degrees. These injunctions were—That they should not extol images, relicks, or miracles.—That persons should preach once a month upon works of faith, mercy, and charity, and inform the people that works of man's devising, such as pilgrimages, setting up wax candles, and praying upon beads, are offensive to God.—That persons having the cure of souls shall preach in person once a quarter at least, or else read one of the homilies prescribed by the Queen, every Sunday in the church, when there was no sermon.—That every holy-day they should recite from the pulpit the pater-noster, creed, and ten commandments.—That within three months every parish shall provide a Bible, and within twelve months Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the Gospel, in English, and set them up in their several churches.—That the clergy shall not haunt ale-houses or taverns,

or spend their time idly at dice, cards, or any unlawful games.—That none shall be admitted to preach in churches without licence from the Queen or her visitors, or from the Archbishop, or Bishop of the diocese.—That all persons under the degree of Master of Arts shall buy for their own use, the New Testament in Latin and English, with paraphrases, within three months after this visitation.—That they shall learn out of the scriptures some comfortable sentences for the sick.—That there shall be no popish processions; nor shall any persons walk about the church, or depart out of it while the priest is reading the scriptures.—That the perambulation of parishes, or processions with the Curates, shall continue.—That holy-days shall be strictly observed, except in harvest time.—That Curates may not admit to the holy communion persons who live openly in sin, without repentance; or who are at variance with their neighbours, till they be reconciled.—That Curates shall teach the people, not obstinately to violate the laudable ceremonies of the church.—That they utterly abolish and destroy all shrines, and coverings of shrines; all tables, candlesticks, trindles and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition.—That due reverence shall be paid to the ministers of the gospel.—No Priest or Deacon shall marry without allowance of the Bishop of his diocese, and two Justices of the Peace, nor without the consent of the parents of the woman, if she has any, or others that are nearest of kin, upon penalty of being rendered incapable

incapable of holding an ecclesiastical benefice, or ministering in the word and sacraments. No Bishop shall marry without permission from his metropolitan, and such commissioners as the Queen shall appoint.

—All Archbishops, and Bishops, with all others who shall preach or administer the sacraments, or who shall be preferred to any ecclesiastical vocation, or admitted into any of the universities, shall wear such garments and square caps as were worn in the reign of Edward the Sixth.—That no person shall withdraw from his parish church and resort to another, unless on some extraordinary occasion.—No inn-keepers or public houses shall sell meat or drink in time of divine service.—None shall keep in their houses any abused images, fables, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of counterfeit miracles.

—No man shall disturb the minister in his sermon, nor mock or make a jest of him.—No man, woman, or child shall be otherwise employed in time of divine service, than by giving attendance to what is read and preached.—No persons shall teach school but such as are allowed by the ordinary.—Schoolmasters shall exhort their children to love and reverence the true religion now allowed by authority.—They shall teach their scholars certain sentences of scripture, tending to godliness.—None shall be admitted to any spiritual cure who are totally unlearned.—The Parson or Curate of the parish shall instruct the children of his parish for half an hour before evening prayer, every holy-day and second Sunday in the year, in the catechism, and shall teach them the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments,

mandments.—All the ordinaries shall exhibit to the visitors a copy of the books containing the causes why any have been imprisoned, famished, or put to death for religion in the late reign.—Overseers in every parish shall see that all parishioners duly resort to church; and shall present the defaulters to the ordinary.—Church-wardens shall deliver to the Queen's visitors, an inventory of all their church furniture, as vestments, copes, plates, books, and especially of grayles, couchers, legends, processional, manuels, hymnals, portueffes, and such-like, pertaining to the church.—The litany shall be read weekly on Wednesdays and Fridays.—Singing-men shall be continued and maintained in collegiate churches, and there shall be a modest song sung in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly and distinctly understood as if it were read without singing.—There shall be no vain contentious disputes in matters of religion, nor the use of opprobrious language, as papist, papistical, heretic, schismatic, or sacramentary: such offenders shall be remitted to the ordinary.—No book or pamphlet shall be printed or made public without licence from the Queen, or six of her privy council, or her ecclesiastical commissioners, or from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, or the Chancellors of the universities; the names of the licensers to be printed at the end of the book. Ancient and profane authors are excepted.—In time of reading the litany, and all other collects and common prayer, all the people shall devoutly kneel; and when the name of Jesus shall be  
in

in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise pronounced in the church, due reverence shall be made by all persons with lowliness of courtesy, and uncovering the heads of the men, as has been formerly practised.

These injunctions were to be read in the churches once every quarter of a year. An appendix was also added, containing the form of bidding prayer, and an order relating to tables in churches. The penalties for disobeying these injunctions, were suspension, deprivation, sequestration of fruits and benefices, excommunication, and such other kind of correction as those who have ecclesiastical jurisdiction under her Majesty shall see meet. The majority of the visitors were laymen; any two of them were empowered to examine into the state of churches; to suspend or deprive such clergymen as were unworthy, and to place others in their room; to proceed against the obstinate, by imprisonment, church censures, or any other legal methods. They had power to reserve pensions for such as quitted their livings by resignation; to examine into the condition of all who were imprisoned on account of religion, and to discharge them; and to restore all such to their benefices who had been unlawfully deprived in the preceding reign.

This was the first high commission, and bore date about Midsummer, one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine. It gave great offence to many, that the Queen should give lay-visitors authority to proceed against clergymen by ecclesiastical censures; yet this was no more than is done daily by lay-chancellors

chancellors in ecclesiastical courts. There was another thing much worse than this; the commissioners went beyond the censures of the church by fines, imprisonments, and inquisitory oaths, whereby many hundreds of families were ruined, without the authority of that law which gave them existence.

It is said the visitors took special care to have all the instruments of idolatry demolished out of the churches where God's pure service was set up, such as roods, which were images of Christ upon the cross, with John and Mary standing by; also images, tutelar saints of the churches, which were dedicated to them, popish books, altars, and the like. In this they went beyond their injunctions; for it does not appear that they were authorized by the articles to remove images totally. Elizabeth was not yet determined in this point. Parker and Cox, it is said, were for images, but Jewel and Grindal were against them. The determination of this point depended upon a dispute which was yet depending between these Bishops. Jewel affirms, that if images were continued, he would give up his bishopric. The visitors paid no regard to the deliberations of these Bishops, but commanded that all images should be taken down, and the altars removed, and in place of the altars, a decent table for the ordinary celebration of the Lord's supper.

The cruelties of the preceding reign had so provoked the common people, that they easily joined in the reformation, and were ready to execute the orders of the visitors. Their zeal proceeded

ceeded to madness and extravagance; for they not only burnt roods and crucifixes which were taken down, but even the priest's garments, such as copes, surplices, altar-cloths, books, banners, sepulchres, &c. This was performed in Smithfield, St Paul's Church-yard, and Cheapside, to make an atonement for the blood of the martyrs which had been shed there in the late times. The tumultuous populace proceeded still farther; they broke the painted glass in the windows of churches, razed many ancient inscriptions; and spoiled those monuments of the dead that had any mark of popery upon them.

Elizabeth was offended at these proceedings, for the conduct of the visitors was expressly contrary to her practice: she retained a crucifix with the Virgin Mary and St John in her chapel, and when Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, spoke against it to her, she threatened to deprive him, and issued a proclamation, dated the nineteenth of September, in the second year of her reign, forbidding the defacing of monuments, images, and pictures. She would hardly stand to the import of her twenty-third injunction, which commanded that all superstitious images and pictures should be removed out of the churches: she even after all retained her altar and crucifix, and would not permit lighted candles to be discontinued in her chapel. Singing-men and boys appeared there in their surplices, and the priests in their copes; the altar was furnished with rich plate, with two gilt candlesticks, and lighted candles, with a massy crucifix in the middle. The service was not only sung with organs, but with cornets



and sackbuts on high festivals, and all the glorious trapping of popery was retained. Some things which had been laid aside in the reign of Edward, and restored by Mary, were now retained. The adoration towards the altar which was observed by the Knights of the Garter, was still practised; so splendid was Elizabeth's chapel, that foreign Embassadors could not distinguish it from a Romish one, except that the service was performed in English instead of Latin. This shews how far Queen Elizabeth was really a protestant, and how far she could make religion subservient to the policy of her court. She meant to draw in the papists, by retaining some of the special pageants of popery, and in some degree she obtained her end; but this in the issue was neither serviceable to religion, nor satisfactory to the Pope, whom she intended not to offend.

When the visitors had finished their tour, 1560. and made their report, it was found, that not above two hundred and forty-three clergymen had given up their livings, namely, fourteen Bishops, three Bishops Elect, one Abbot, four Priors, one Abbess, twelve Deans, fourteen Archdeacons, sixty Canons or Prebendaries, one hundred beneficed Clergy, fifteen Heads of Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, and twenty Doctors in several faculties. The greatest part of the inferior beneficed clergy kept their places; they had been accustomed to change with the times, and every change was alike to them, provided they might hold their livings by conformity. These time-servers were ready to embrace

embrace any thing which might serve to procure to them riches, honour, or pleasure; and if Elizabeth had died before the reformation was completed, and the old religion had again been restored, they would have had no objection to have conformed to popery. The Bishops considered it as a point of honour not to conform, and some might view it as a matter of conscience; but considering how often they had changed already, this is the most favourable construction that can be put upon their behaviour. Upon so great an alteration in religion, the number of those who refused to conform was very inconsiderable. Of nine thousand and four hundred, two hundred and forty-three bear but a small proportion; yet notwithstanding the great number who conformed, it was impossible to find protestant divines of any tolerable capacity to supply the vacancies. The stricter sort who had been exiles in the former reign, could not agree with the terms of conformity, nor comply with the Queen's injunctions. The Bishops were afraid to push the Queen too hard, or to insist upon the recognizance of doctrines which she disliked; for this reason they overlooked the doctrinal articles of Edward the Sixth, and instead thereof composed a declaration of faith, which all churchmen were obliged to read publicly at their entrance upon their cures. The title of this declaration was, A declaration of certain principal articles of religion, set out by order of both Archbishops, Metropolitans, and the rest of the Bishops, concerning unity of doctrine, &c.

These articles contained, that there is one God, and three persons in the Godhead.—That the holy scriptures are the foundation of all true faith, and contain all things necessary for salvation; and that by them all errors and heresies may be sufficiently confuted.—That the articles of the Nicene, Athanasian, and Apostles creeds, contained the principal articles of religion, which are largely expressed in the scriptures.—That the church is the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is purely taught, the sacraments orderly administered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used; and that every particular church hath power to appoint and change ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical rites, as may appear best to answer the ends of edification.—That it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of the ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, except such as are lawfully called by the high authorities, according to the laws of the realm.—That the Queen has prerogative and superiority over all estates, as well ecclesiastical as civil, within this realm, and other her dominions, according to the word of God and act of parliament.—That according to the word of God the Bishop of Rome hath no more authority than other Bishops have in their own sees or provinces, and that the power which he claims over other churches, and over all Emperors and Kings, is usurped, and contrary to the scriptures.—That the book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments, set forth by act of parliament, is agreeable to the word of God.—That the administration

nion of the sacrament of baptism is good and valid without the use of oil, salt, and spittle.—That masses are contrary to the word of God.—That the Lord's supper ought to be administered in both kinds.—That images and all relics ought to be laid aside.—All these articles were set forth in the form of a confession of faith, and made the terms of ministerial conformity, together with the oath of supremacy, and the act of uniformity.

Many churches were filled at this time with ignorant and illiterate pastors: some who were only mechanics were preferred to dignities and livings, who were disesteemed by the people, and did the reformation much harm, while others of the first rank for learning and piety were laid aside. In many places in the country there was no preaching; and the Bishop of Bangor declared that there were but two preachers in his whole diocese. It was reckoned very fair at this time if the Parson could read the service, and sometimes the homilies. The Bishops were sensible of this case, but were at no pains to remedy it; for instead of behaving with more charity towards the conscientious puritans, they did every thing which tended to keep them out of the church. Rather than admit them upon terms which they could agree to, they preferred the meanest and most illiterate persons who would come up to the terms of the laws, and published a book of homilies for their further assistance.

It cannot be easily ascertained at so great a distance of time what were the motives of the Bishops in proceeding in this manner, but it might have been expected, that as they had tasted suf-  
ficiently

sufficiently of persecution in the former reign, they would have behaved with more moderation towards their brethren, who were their fellow-sufferers. Their zeal for robes and vestments was now as extravagant as that of the papists for the authority of the Pope, and they would not make the smallest abatement for the sake of their brethren. They frequently went before the laws in suspending and depriving such as could not in conscience conform to those modes of superstition which they enjoined; and so far did their rigour proceed, that they fined and imprisoned many pious and learned men who maintained the same faith with themselves, merely because they would not wear those rags of popery which they were fond of, and had been so often abused to idolatrous purposes.

Many of the exiles remained at Geneva to finish a translation of the Bible, which had been begun in the late reign. The persons who were concerned in it were Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, John Knox, Anthony Gibbs, Thomas Sampson, William Cole, of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, and William Whittingham. They compared Tindal's old English Bible with the Hebrew, and the best modern translations; they divided the chapters into verses, which was not done by the former translators, and added some figures, maps, and tables for the sake of ornament and illustration. It was published at Geneva, in quarto, and printed by Rowland Harle, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, and an epistle to the reader, bearing date the tenth of April this year. In this preface they touched severely upon some ceremonies retained

tained in the church of England, and endeavoured to persuade her Majesty to remove them, as being too much like popery. The translators had also published some marginal notes which seemed to reflect on the Queen's supremacy and prerogative, and to allow subjects to resist wicked and tyrannical Princes: for this reason when the proprietors petitioned the Secretary of State for having it reprinted in England for public use, it was refused, and the impression stopt till after the death of Archbishop Parker. The notes which were reckoned exceptional were on Exod. xv. 19. where disobedience to Kings is allowed; and 2 Chron. xix. 16. where King Asa is censured for not executing his mother, instead of deposing her. On Rev. ix. 3. there is a note which affirms, that the locusts which are said to come out of the bottomless pit are heretics, false teachers, worldly subtle Prelates, with Monks, Friars, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Doctors, Batchelors, and Masters. This gave disgust to the Queen and the Bishops, and was the reason why it was not permitted to be printed in England at this time.

Notwithstanding these offensive passages, and some of the like import, this Geneva Bible was printed in England afterwards, and was in great repute. It is affirmed by some, that it was printed upwards of thirty times by the Queen's own printers. To supply the nation for the present, Tindal and Coverdale's translation, printed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, was revised and published for the use of the church, till the Bishops should find occasion to

to publish a more correct one, which at this time they undertook to do.

With the English exiles the Dutch and German protestants returned, who had been forced to flee in the late reign. Their chief, John Aleasco, returned with them. They petitioned the Queen to restore them to their church and privileges, which had been granted them in the reign of Edward the Sixth. Her Majesty declined this for some time, because she would not admit a stranger to be superintendant of a church within her own Bishops' jurisdiction. To remove this objection Aleasco resigned, and the people chose Grindal, Bishop of London, for their superintendant: so the Queen confirmed their charter.

This year there were several consecrations performed. Several sees became vacant by the death and deprivation of Bishops; some popish Bishops were deprived, and others died since the Queen ascended the throne, and it was necessary that their places should be supplied. Accordingly, in July, Ally was consecrated for Exeter; in September, Parkhurst for Norwich; in January, Horn for Winchester, and Scambler for Peterborough; in March, Pilkington for Durham, and Best for Carlisle.

It would appear, that at this time the people of England were great dupes to their clergy; for the very nobility were afraid to eat flesh in Lent without an indulgence from the Bishops. Sir Roger North, son and heir to Lord North, applied this year to Archbishop Parker for a permission to eat flesh in time of Lent, on account of his health, and obtained

obtained an indulgence. This shews how far the influence of superstition will debase the human mind, and make men give up their own right of using the creatures of God, to the arbitrary disposal of other men, who have no just claim to any such jurisdiction. The popish Bishops, despairing of their cause, and giving all up for lost, wrote a very threatening letter to the Queen, wherein they admonished her to return to the religion of her ancestors, on pain of the censures of the church. Elizabeth was not so easily put in fear as to pay any regard to the vain threatenings of men who could not enforce their sentence by any power that could hurt her; she therefore paid no regard to those empty ebullitions of despair which were expressed in their letter:

Archbishop Parker performed a visitation of his diocese this summer, and found matters in a very ill situation. The greatest part of the beneficed clergy were either mechanics or mass priests in disguise; many churches were shut up, and those who were open had no sermons preached in them: in some counties this was the case twenty miles round. The people were deprived of the means of instruction, while many worthy men who were well qualified to instruct them, were kept out of the church, and denied all preferment, because they could not conform to modes of superstition which their consciences told them were sinful.

It would be tedious to relate the whole form of this visitation, and the manner in which it was carried on. I shall briefly set down an abridgment



thereof to shew in what manner they then proceeded. The visitation began and was carried on in the chapter-house, and enquiry was made, 1. Whether the Dean, Archdeacon, and other dignitaries were resident? What promotions or livings they enjoyed? Whether they used the vestments appointed them, and observed the Queen's injunctions? 2. Whether the Prebendaries were resident, and how many were of them? Where the rest of them were? What were their names? What livings they held? What orders they were in? What apparel they wore? Whether they preached in their course? How often and at what times in the year they resorted to their cathedral church? 3. Whether divine service was used and the sacraments administered according to the Queen's injunctions? Whether it was said or sung, and performed in all parts according to law? 4. Whether the grammar school was well regulated or not? Whether the children were well furnished, and the number compleat, or how many were wanting? Whether they be brought up in the fear of God, and instructed in wholesome doctrine? Whether all the statutes concerning masters and scholars are regularly kept? 5. Whether Deans, Stewards, Treasurers, Burfers, and Receivers do their duty? 6. Whether all the heads of the church, in their respective departments within and without the cathedral, discharge their functions according to law? What are the names and surnames of the ministers in the said church, and whether any of them are suspected of simony? Whether there are any of them swearers, adulterers, or fornicators?

nicators? 7. Whether there are all necessary books and ornaments in the church; and whether the church is sufficiently repaired? 8. And lastly, What things are needful to be reformed, or necessary to be added?

These are the queries which were then used in the Archbishop's visitation. The visitation of Christ's Church, Canterbury, laid open a disagreeable scene: The Prebendaries did not attend divine service; the Ministers were negligent; the Petty Canons were given to drunkenness, railing, and jesting; some in the church kept lewd women in their houses; and upon the whole, every thing was found quite contrary to the statutes of the church, and the express laws of the land. The rest of the dioceses were not in any better situation than that of Canterbury: the whole churches through the land were scenes of idleness, dissipation, and looseness. Parker discovered the inconveniency that arose to the church through admitting laymen and mechanics to the public offices, and for that reason proceeded to put a stop to the practice of admitting them. He sent a letter to the Bishop of London, signifying his dislike at the practice, and advised him to use his influence to prevent such irregularities for the future.

Many papists by an outward compliance held benefices in the church, and taught 1561. popish doctrines, whereby they corrupted the people, and hindered the progress of the reformation. To prevent this as much as possible, Archbishop Parker composed a form of subscription to be made

by all who held ecclesiastical benefices; wherein they declare, that the restoring the supremacy to the crown, and abolishing all foreign power, and the administering the sacraments according to the book of common prayer and the Queen's injunctions, are agreeable to the word of God, and the practice of the primitive church. The most part of those who favoured the reformation, as well as a number of time-servers, complied with this: some refused, and on that account were deprived.

The Archbishop this year undertook to settle the calender, and the order of lessons to be read through the year: for this purpose, as one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, he procured letters under the great seal to proceed in the reformation thereof. In former times it had been customary to leave it to the discretion of the minister, to change the chapters to be read in course, for others which he might judge more edifying for the occasion; and even after the new regulation the Bishops recommended this practice. They recommended, "that if one or more chapters of the Old Testament fall in order to be read on Sundays, or holy-days, it shall be well done to spend some time to consider well of some other chapter of the New Testament of more edification, for which it may be changed." Had this liberty been continued, it would have removed one stumbling-block out of the way of the puritans; for in that case they would not have been obliged to read the lessons of the apocrypha, which they scrupled to use as a part of divine worship.

But

But this liberty was not long granted, for now there was a table of proper lessons appointed for the whole year. It begins with the Sundays of Advent, and appoints Isa. i. for mattens, and Isa. ii. for evening song. There is another table containing proper lessons for holy-days, beginning with St Andrew; and a third for proper psalms on certain other days; as Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Whit-sunday, &c. At the conclusion of this prayer book, which was printed in one thousand five hundred and sixty, by Jug and Cawood, were certain prayers for private families, which afterwards were abridged, or left out. The design of this practice seems to have been, to confine all devotion to places of public worship; for neither clergy nor laity had liberty in their families or closets to use any other but this, which was appointed as the public form of worship. Such restrictions as these upon the private practice of christians, laid a severe restraint upon their devotion, and had an immediate tendency to make them formal, and luke-warm in all things pertaining to religion. Strict formality in acts of devotion, though it may tend to regulate the passions and prevent enthusiasm, is at the same time attended with an inconveniency more dangerous; for when the warm affections of the mind in their exercise towards God, are bounded by the trammels of set forms in all things, these affections gradually cool, and sink into mere indifference; so that in process of time, by repeating the same round, men proceed insensibly without any feeling, and religion makes no impression upon their minds. The consequence  
of

of this is, either infidelity or mere indifference, which are kindred evils, often derived from the same source.

About this time an admonition was published, and set up in all the churches, forbidding all persons under the degree of Master of Arts to preach or expound the scriptures, or to change or alter any thing in the church service; they were commanded to read the homilies only. It was now ordered that no more tradesmen should be ordained, till the meeting of the convocation, when some better regulations should be provided. This admonition could not be complied with; for so many churches both in town and country were unprovided with pastors, that in some places there were no sermons nor homilies for some months together. They could not in many places find clergymen to baptize children, or bury the dead; the Bishops were obliged therefore to admit of pluralists, non-residents, and civil lawyers, and to ordain such as offered themselves, however mean their qualifications were. This filled the churches with a number of illiterate naughty teachers, who understood as little of the theory of religion as they observed of the practice thereof, and were shamefully ignorant of the holy scriptures. What tended to aggravate this evil, many learned and worthy men were deprived of their livings, and the people deprived of their services, merely on account of a senseless dispute concerning indifferent things. Mr Fox, the famous martyrologist, to whom all the churches are much obliged, remained unprovided for, when ignorant mechanics

mechanics, who knew very little of religion, were preferred to rich benefices, and admitted to offices for which they were no way qualified. Fox gives a humorous account of his situation, in a letter to a friend: "I, says he, remain in the same situation, and wear the same sordid apparel which England received me in, when I came home out of Germany; nor do I change my degree or order, which is that of the Mendicants, or if you will, of the Friars Preachers." The puritans complained of this usage to the Queen, but no notice was taken of their complaints. Elizabeth was not a person who felt easily for distress, and seldom did good except with an eye to her own interest. She meant little more by any profession of religion which she made, than to serve the purposes of her policy and ambition. The cries of the distressed made seldom any impression upon her mind, unless when she intended to obtain popular applause, to promote the ends of her supremacy.

The universities of Oxford and Cambridge were unable to assist the reformers; for the professors and tutors, being for the most part papists, had trained up the youth in their own principles for seven years past. Some of the heads of colleges were removed, and protestants placed in their room, but it required a long time for them to supply the necessities of the church. There were but three protestant preachers in the whole university of Oxford, and they were all puritans, viz. Dr Humphreys, Mr Kingwell, and Mr Sampson. Though the Bishops a short time after this procured a convocation

vocation which favoured the reformation, yet there were many of them so ignorant that they could not write their own names. Very little reformation could be expected while the teachers were so ignorant. It is knowledge which opens the mind to receive principles of truth, and impressions of rectitude; without this, improvement in true religion is impossible. If the teachers, who instruct others are themselves destitute of true knowledge; it is not to be expected that their disciples can be very wise.

The reformation went slowly on hitherto. The Queen was unwilling to part with images, or to permit the clergy to marry; for she commanded that no head or member of a collegiate church or cathedral should have a wife or any other woman within the precincts thereof, to remain, under the penalty of forfeiture of all ecclesiastical promotions. It is said that Elizabeth would have forbidden the marriage of the clergy altogether, if Secretary Cecil had not strongly interposed. She repented to have made married men Bishops, and in a passion told the Archbishop that she intended to publish new injunctions, which Parker understood to favour popery, and wrote a letter to her Majesty, remonstrating against the changeableness of her disposition; and signified that he was determined to obey God rather than man, and would not comply with any such injunctions.

This year the parliament met on the 1562. twelfth of January, when an act was passed for assurance of the Queen's royal power over all states

states and subjects within her dominions. It confirmed the act of supremacy, and declared, "that all persons that by writing, printing, teaching, or preaching maintained the Pope's authority within this realm, incurred a premunire for the first offence, and the second was high treason." The oath of supremacy was to be taken by all in holy orders, by all graduates in the universities, lawyers, schoolmasters, and all other officers of any court whatsoever, and by all knights, citizens, and burgesses in parliament. But the Queen charged the Archbishop to write to the Bishops not to tender the oath except in cases of necessity, and never to press it a second time without special direction. None of the Bishops were troubled with it except Bonner and one or two more.

The convocation assembled at St Paul's the day after the parliament met. Mr Day, Provost of Eaton, preached the sermon, and Alexander Nowel, Dean of St Paul's, was chosen Prolocutor. The Queen having directed letters of licence to review the doctrine and discipline of the church, they began with the doctrine, and reduced the forty-two articles of Edward the Sixth to thirty-nine, as they now stand. They passed over the articles forty, forty-one, and forty-two. The first affirms, that the resurrection of the dead is not passed already: the second, that the souls of men deceased do neither perish with their bodies, nor sleep idly: the third, that there is no millennium: the fourth, that all men are not saved at last. It would appear that the convocation were not well persuaded



of the resurrection of the dead, nor of the immortality of the soul, for these articles are left out of the collection as it now stands.

There has been a doctrine maintained by a Bishop of a modern date which seems to agree with the opinion of this convocation, in excluding the fortieth article of King Edward's liturgy. The sleep of the soul until the resurrection, has been propagated by some, and reckoned no way contrary to a state of immortality; but one thing appears manifest, that the souls of men are by this doctrine considered in a state of idle inactivity, capable of neither pleasure nor pain, and lose in real value a certain period of happiness, or escape punishment which they deserved for the crimes they have committed. This doctrine seems to have been invented by some friends to infidelity, who, conscious of what their crimes deserve in the next world as soon as they enter into it, have projected this scheme for a little temporary ease before eternal punishment; for no persons who delight in the enjoyment of God, and love fellowship with the Deity, can have any pleasure in the thoughts of such a sleep. Even in this life it would be accounted a misery, instead of happiness, for a man of a social disposition to be obliged to sleep, when all his friends were engaged in festivity and social pleasure.

It has been much agitated by historians, whether the first clause of the twentieth article concerning the power of the church to decree rites and ceremonies, and whether she has authority to determine matters of faith, was originally a part  
of

of that article which passed in this convocation? and was afterwards confirmed by act of parliament in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one. It is not among the articles of Edward the Sixth, nor is it in the original copy subscribed by both houses of convocation with their own hands; which is still preserved in Bennet College library among Archbishop Parker's papers. The records of the convocation were consumed in the fire of London, and no appeal can be made to them; the truth can only be conjectured from this copy, and the opinions of historians since that time. Dr Heylin says he consulted the records, and he found this clause; but Dr Foulter, who is reckoned a writer of more candour, and who had liberty to consult these records, declares he could not find this contested clause, and could not on that account determine the dispute. There were only two editions of the articles in English before this time; and this clause is in neither of them; yet Strype, in his life of Parker, says, that this clause is to be found in two printed copies of one thousand five hundred and sixty-three. It does not appear that any other historians have been favoured with a sight of these two impressions of the English articles, and therefore it would be too rash to determine this point merely on the authority of Strype. The friends of the power of the church have affirmed, that this clause was dashed out by the puritans; but it is well known that they were not so much in favour at this time, as to have the privilege of keeping the manuscript copy of these ar-

sicles; and they were not in power for a great many years after this time. It will appear to a rational enquirer to be more probable, that this clause was not originally in these articles, seeing the manuscript copy wants it, than it was struck out by the puritans. One thing appears not improbable, that the person who transcribed the articles into the convocation book with the names of those who subscribed them, might by the direction of his superiors insert it, and then it might appear in the records in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy, though it was not in the original manuscript. The reader may chuse which of these conjectures he pleases, for it is of no great consequence to an history of the churches. The convocation seem to have been afraid of incurring a premunire, and have added a postscript after their subscriptions, to explain their meaning. It signifies that the subscribers did not determine any thing in prejudice of any act of parliament, but only humbly offered that little book to the Queen and parliament, containing their petitions and requests.

The articles were concluded, and subscribed in the Chapter-house of St Paul's, on the thirtieth of January, one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, in the ninth session of the convocation. All the Bishops subscribed, except the Bishops of Gloucester and Rochester, who were absent. Of the lower house there were upwards of one hundred who subscribed to these articles; but whatever learning they were possessed of, they seem to have been very bad writers; for those who have seen their  
hand.

hand-writings at the articles, declare they are scarcely legible. Among the subscribers are several of the learned exiles, who were not altogether satisfied with the constitution: such as Mess. Boseley, Watts, Mullyns, Cole, Sampson, Pullan, Spencer, Wisdom, Nowel, Beaumont, Heton, Pedder, Lever, Pownal, Wilton, Croley, and others. It was nine years after before these articles became part of the establishment, and passed into a law, though some of the very rigid Bishops insisted upon subscription from this time.

The next considerable affair that came under consideration, was the rites and ceremonies of the church. On this occasion Bishop Sandys brought in a paper of advice to move her Majesty, "That private baptism, and baptism by women, might be taken out of the prayer book.—That the crosses in baptism be disallowed, as needless and superstitious.—That commissioners be appointed to reform ecclesiastical laws." There was another paper presented to the house with some other requests.—That the psalms be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, and that organs may be laid aside.—That none may baptize except ministers, and that they may be permitted to omit the sign of the cross.—That at the administration of the communion, kneeling may be left indifferent.—That the use of copes and surplices may be taken away, so that all ministers in their ministry use a grave, comely, and sode garment, as they commonly do in preaching.—That ministers be not compelled to wear such gowns and caps as the enemies of Christ's gospel have chosen

chosen to be the special array of their priesthood.—That the words in the thirty-third article, concerning the punishment of those who do not conform in all things to the public order concerning ceremonies, may be mitigated.—That all saint days, and holy-days bearing the name of a creature, may be abolished, or at least a commemoration of them be observed only by sermons, homilies, or common prayer, for the better instructing the people in history; and that after service men may go to work.—This paper was subscribed by thirty-three persons, whose names and stations are as follow: Alexander Nowel, Dean of St Paul's, Prolocutor; Sampson, Dean of Christ's Church, Oxford; Lawrence Nowel, Dean of Litchfield; Ellis, Dean of Hereford; Day, Provost of Eaton; Dods, Dean of Exon; Merllins, Archdeacon of London; Pullan, Archdeacon of Colchester; Léver, Archdeacon of Coventry; Beaumont, Archdeacon of Huntington; Spencer, Archdeacon of Chichester; Croley, Archdeacon of Hereford; Heton, Archdeacon of Gloucester; Rogers, Archdeacon of St Asaph's; Kemp, Archdeacon of St Alban's; Prat, Archdeacon of St David's; Longland, Archdeacon of Bucks; Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex; with the Proctors Calhill, Walker, Saul, Wiburn, Savage, W. Bonner, Avys, Wilfon, Nevynson, Tremayne, Renyger, Roberts, Reeve, and Hills.

This paper was not approved of, and therefore another was brought into the lower house on the thirteenth of February, containing the following articles: That all Sundays in the year, and principal

cipal feasts of Christ, be kept as holy-days; and that all other holy-days be abolished.—That in all parish churches the minister shall in common prayer turn his face towards the people, and read the service distinctly, that the people may hear and be edified.—That in baptism the cross may be omitted, as tending to superstition.—That such communicants as are not able to kneel for age and infirmity at the sacrament, and others who do it superstitiously, shall be forbidden by the ordinary, according as he shall think proper.—That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying divine service and administering of the sacraments (once) to wear a surplice; and that no minister say service, or administer the sacrament, except in a comely garment or habit.—That the use of organs be laid aside. These propositions occasioned great alteration; for some approved and others condemned them. In conclusion, the house was divided, and it appeared upon scrutiny that the majority then present were for approving them; forty-three were for approving and thirty-five for rejecting. The Bishops at last gained their point by the majority of one proxy, fifty-nine against fifty-eight; so the articles were continued as they now are, by the majority of one vote of a person who was not present. There were forty-three members who approved of the articles which were brought in at this time for amending the liturgy; their names are to be found in the larger histories of these times; the most part of them are in the list which I have set down above. It is manifest that half the con-  
 vocation

vocation, and a great number who were not present, were for an amendment of the rites and ceremonies, or at least for forbearance in the practice thereof: and indeed it might have been expected, when such considerable indulgences were granted to the Roman catholics, that some small favours might have been shewed to the puritans, whose principles were no way inconsistent with civil government, or the peace of society. The Bishops allowed that ceremonies are indifferent, and yet treated those who could not in conscience practise them, with great rigour and severity. Religion does not appear to have reached the hearts of those who were then dignitaries in the church, otherwise they would have been merciful as their father who is in heaven is merciful.

1563. The church having now gained the point against the puritans in the convocation, those who had the chief management proceeded to great severities against them. The plague, which broke out this summer in several parts of England, restrained their proceeding for a while, and some were indulged who refused to wear the habits for a short time, but none of those called puritans were preferred to any benefice of consideration. Miles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter, who assisted Tyndal and Rogers in translating the Bible, and Mr Fox, who wrote the martyrology, were both unprovided for. The first was assisting to the consecration of Archbishop Parker, and had suffered many hardships for religion in the reign of Mary. He narrowly escaped death for his religion; for  
if

if it had not been for the intercession of the King of Denmark, he had suffered among the rest who were burnt in that period. This Bishop was born in Yorkshire, and bred at Cambridge: he received the degree of Doctor in Divinity in the university of Tübingen, a town in Swabia, in Germany, and returned to his native country, among other exiles, upon Elizabeth's preferment to the throne, and joined with others to consecrate the first Archbishop in her reign; but because he could not agree with the vestments and ceremonies, was left exposed to poverty and distress. Bishop Grindal gave him a small living at St Magnus', where he preached peaceably for two years; but not following the precepts of conformity exactly enough, he was persecuted, and obliged to leave it a little before his death, which happened on the twentieth day of May, one thousand five hundred and sixty-seven, at the age of eighty-one. He was a celebrated preacher among the puritans, and much admired and followed by all; but the act of uniformity brought him mourning to the grave. He was buried in St Bartholomew's, behind the exchange, and was attended to his grave by a great crowd of people.

Fox was a grave and learned man, of much activity and piety. He wrote the acts and monuments of the church when he was an exile, and spent all that time in which he was banished from his country in collecting materials for writing his martyrology. He was but ill rewarded for his labour, when he returned home, for the service he had



done his country in his exile; for he lived for a long time in great poverty and want, without notice and preferment, merely because he could not comply with the habits, which were used, nor the ceremonies which were then practised. No book, except the scriptures, ever gave such a mortal blow to popery as his acts and monuments: it was dedicated to the Queen, and held in such great reputation, that it was ordered to be set up in the churches; where it raised in the minds of the people such a horror against popery, as never had been known before. Elizabeth had a particular esteem for Mr. Fox, and yet through the evils of these times he remained in distress without preferment, till by the intercession of a friend he obtained a prebend in Sarum, which he held with some difficulty till his death. The Bishops meant him no favour, and gave him constant disturbance as long as he lived.

1564. The clergy who did duty in the parishes both in town and country, had in general an aversion to the habits: they sometimes wore them in obedience to the laws, but more frequently omitted them. For this they were sometimes cited to the spiritual courts, and admonished; but the Bishops had not yet proceeded to suspend and deprive ministers for not using them. They gathered courage at last, and laid the matter before the Queen, and prevailed with her to interpose her authority in behalf of these fragments of superstition. She therefore in her letters to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, desired that they

they would confer with the Bishops of the ecclesiastical commission, and take special care that exact uniformity be observed in rites and ceremonies, and that none hereafter be admitted to any ecclesiastical preferment, but who is well disposed to common order, and shall formally promise to comply therewith. For a pretence to cover this severity, it was alledged that some of the puritans had turned the habits into ridicule, and used ungenteel language to them who wore them. This has been assigned by some writers as the reason of the cruel treatment which the puritans afterwards met with. If this was really the case, it shews that the puritans were imprudent, but it is no just apology for persecution. These habits were things which were much readier to create laughter than to promote religion, and seem to have been such accoutrements for devotion, that a number of plain people would not have readily thought of. If simplicity be any becoming ornament of christianity, it will be difficult to produce any good arguments in defence of these fragments of superstition.

The Bishops had promised to the foreign divines, that they would not urge their brethren in these particulars; but preferment changed their minds, and they thought themselves freed from all such promises, because the Queen commanded the contrary. They studied to please Elizabeth, whom they knew it was dangerous to offend, and thought there was less evil in persecuting their brethren, than in disobeying the Queen, who had it in her

power to disgrace them. When men are snugly established in a good appointment, where they have all advantages suitable for the gratification of their passions and appetites, they are ready to apprehend, that those who by a contrary practice act otherwise than they do are really their enemies; for this reason, being prompted by their passions, they persecute the objects of their aversion.

The puritans perceived how great a storm was gathering against them, and employed all their interest to prevent it. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, wrote to the Earl of Leicester, to use his interest with the Queen in their behalf, and Whittingham, Dean of the same place, wrote to the same purpose. His letter is an earnest and pathetic address, enforced with arguments well-founded, expressive both of the truth and goodness of his heart. "Alas," says he, my Lord, that such compulsion should "be used towards us, and such lenity towards the "papists. Oh! noble Earl, be our patron, and stay "in this behalf, that we may not lose our liberty, "that hitherto by the Queen's benignity we have "enjoyed." The nobility were divided among themselves in this affair, and the Queen herself was in a strait how to proceed; but Parker, who was a man very zealous for ceremonies, habits, and vestments, spirited her up, and represented matters in such a light as entirely wrought upon her jealousy. Her authority and power was what she could not endure to be called in question; the smallest suspicion of any person refusing to obey her authority, was sufficient to bring down her vengeance

vengeance on their heads. Parker took special care to represent the puritans as despisers of the Queen's authority, which effectually prevailed with her to grant him any power that he had an inclination to exercise against them. Mercy was a feeling which Parker was seldom subject to, and when once he received her Majesty's commands, he was sure to execute them vigorously against Nonconformists. Having received the Queen's letters authorizing him to proceed, he began and pursued his plan with uncommon rigour and severity. Had the first principles of christianity, or the very essence of the English constitution depended upon vestments and ceremonies, he could not have been more zealous in supporting them. Sermons were preached in their defence, and on purpose to promote them, and every step taken which Parker could invent to establish them. Bishop Jewel preached at St Paul's Cross on purpose to reconcile the people to habits. He said he did not pretend to defend them, but wanted to shew they were indifferent, and might be complied with. Bishop Horn proceeded farther, and said, that he wished those cut off from the church that troubled her about white or black garments, round or square caps. The puritans were not permitted to preach in defence of their cause, but they took occasion to write to the Bishops, and were so plain as to tell them that in their opinion those deserved rather to be cut off who stopped the course of the gospel, and who grieved and offended weak brethren, by urging the remnants of Antichrists more than

than the commandments of God, and by punishing them more severely than the open breakers of these laws.

The Archbishop, with the Bishops of London, Ely, Winchester, and Lincoln, composed several articles to enforce the use of habits, which were published under the name of advertisements; but when his Grace brought them to court, the Queen refused to give them the royal sanction. The Archbishop was nettled at this disappointment, and said that the court had put him upon framing these advertisements, but if they would not proceed to give them the royal sanction they had better not begun; and that all the world would laugh at them for what they had already done. The Queen remained still cold and indifferent, so that when the Archbishop came to the court she never mentioned to him the neglect of conformity in the city of London, where it was most remarkable. Parker was possessed of more resolution, than to give up such a favourite point, without making another attempt. He wrote a letter to Secretary Cecil, desiring another letter from the Queen to authorize their endeavours for conformity; and in conclusion added, if you remedy it not by a letter, I will no more strive against the stream, fume or chide who will.

It will appear to those who compare the opinions of the reformers of different periods, that none of them were fond of popish vestments except when they could serve some political purpose by imposing; for Cranmer, Ridley, and all who suffered

suffered in the reign of Henry and Mary, spoke very lightly of them at their death, and accounted them fragments of superstition. To exhibit all the testimonies of the reformers at home and abroad, who have condemned vestments and habits, would be to transcribe volumes, and interlard this history with quotations. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Rogers, Bradford, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bishop Jewel, Dr. Sandys, Parkhurst, Humphreys, and Sampson, were all against them. And even Parker, who pressed them so hard upon others, has given his testimony on a certain occasion against them; for he gloried that he was consecrated without Aaronical garments, and said that he was not fond of the cap, the surplice, and the wafer bread. Bishop Jewel calls the vestments the habits of the stage, and the relics of the amorites, and wishes they were extirpated to the roots. Almost all the foreign divines gave their advice against them, and we do not find a protestant recorded in history who approved of them when they died.

The laity in England were more averse to the habits and ceremonies than the clergy; for as their hatred of popery increased, so did their aversion at all the symbols and appearances thereof. There were not wanting a strong party in the court who disapproved them also: among these were the Earl of Leicester; Sir Francis Knollys, Vice-chamberlain; Burleigh, Lord Treasurer; Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State; the Earls of Bedford, Warwick, and sundry others. The populace through the kingdom, who professed the protestant religion, were

were so provoked at popery, on account of the many martyrs which it had made, that nothing could have made them abide within the church, except the dread of civil authority, which interposed in behalf of conformity. Such was their aversion to these fragments of popery, that they refused to frequent those places of worship where divine service was performed in that dress: so far did they carry their resentment in this particular, that they would not salute such ministers in the streets, nor keep company with them. Dr Whitgift says, that they spit in their faces, and reviled them as they passed along, and called them papists in disguise, time-servers, and half-faced protestants, who would be content with the return of that religion, the badge of which they carried about with them. The truth of this is not to be questioned by such as are acquainted with popular prejudice, and the madness which people may be brought to, either by oppression or the arts of designing men. This behaviour of the puritans is far from being praise-worthy, and argues both a want of religion and good breeding in those who were guilty of such rudeness. It is not indeed much to be wondered at, that those garments which had been so often dyed with the blood of their friends, were despised by the people; but had they believed the gospel in reality, they would have behaved with more temper and moderation. Ignorant men who profess religion without believing it in reality, are always ready to offer insults to those who differ from them, and frequently glory in proportion

portion as they have it in their power to behave uncivilly. Some historians have offered apologies for this rudeness of the puritans towards the established clergy; but I can make no other apology for them in this particular, than that they did not believe that gospel which they zealously professed. Acts of violence and rudeness are inconsistent with the spirit of christianity.

It argued a want of true wisdom in the Queen and the Bishops, to impose these habits and ceremonies upon the clergy on pain of deprivation, when by their own confession they were matters of indifference, and in the opinion of their brethren they were sinful. This was making use of their power to impose a thing they themselves thought of no consequence, upon the consciences of others, at the expence of true religion and the public peace.

The Archbishop and his brethren, in consequence of the letter he received from the Queen, proceeded to reduce all the clergy to a strict uniformity. They began with London, the diocese of Grindal; there the greatest number of respectable clergy refused the contested apparel. After some foolish debates, they agreed upon certain advertisements, as they were pleased to call them, partly for due order in preaching and administering the sacraments, and partly for the apparel of ecclesiastical persons.

The articles for preaching declare, " That all  
" licences granted before March first, one thousand

Vol. II.

L

" five



“ five hundred and sixty-four, shall be void and  
 “ of no effect; and that all that shall be thought  
 “ meet for the office of preaching shall be admit-  
 “ ted again, paying no more than four-pence for  
 “ writing, parchment, and wax; and that those who  
 “ were not approved as preachers might read the  
 “ homilies.—That in the administration of the com-  
 “ munion in cathedral or collegiate churches, the  
 “ principal ministers shall wear a cope, with a gos-  
 “ peler and epistler agreeably; but at all other  
 “ prayers to be said at the communion table, they  
 “ shall wear no copes, but surplices only: Deans  
 “ and Prebendaries shall wear a surplice with a  
 “ silk hood in the choir; and when they preach,  
 “ a hood. Every minister saying the public prayers,  
 “ or administering the sacraments, &c. shall wear a  
 “ surplice with sleeves; and the parish shall provide  
 “ a decent table standing on a frame for the com-  
 “ munion; and the ten commandments shall be set  
 “ on the east wall over the said table. All Dig-  
 “ nitaries in cathedral churches, Doctors, Batche-  
 “ lers of Divinity and Law, having ecclesiastical  
 “ livings, shall wear in their common apparel, a  
 “ broad side gown, with sleeves, strait at the hands,  
 “ without cuffs, or falling capes; and tippets of  
 “ sarcenet, and a square cap; but no hats, except  
 “ when on a journey. The inferior clergy are  
 “ to wear long gowns and caps of the same fashion,  
 “ except in case of poverty, when they may wear  
 “ short gowns.”

To these advertisements were annexed protesta-  
 tions, which were to be subscribed by all who  
 should

should hereafter be admitted to any office or cure in the church. Hereby every clergyman subscribed and promised, not to preach or expound the scriptures without special licence from the Bishop, under his seal, but only to read homilies; and likewise to observe, keep, and maintain such order and uniformity in all external polity, rites, and ceremonies of the church, as by laws, good usages, and orders, are already well provided and established. These advertisements were enjoined by the authority of the ecclesiastical commissioners, who were so humble as to allow that they were not equivalent with the word of God, or of necessity to bind the consciences of the Queen's subjects in their own nature considered, or as adding any efficacy or holiness to public prayers or the sacraments; but as temporal orders, merely ecclesiastical, without any vain superstition, and as rules of decency, distinction, and order for time. By the first of these articles, all preachers throughout the kingdom were disqualified at once; and by the last they subscribed and promised not to preach or expound the scriptures without a special licence from the Bishops which could not be obtained without a promise under their hands of an absolute conformity to all the ceremonies. It must certainly appear very strange to people living in a period so far distant from those times as this in which we live, to think that so many Bishops should assemble, and proceed with so much solemnity, in a matter of such small consequence. A stranger would be tempted to conclude, that the dignified clergy had been all tay-

lors, seeing they are so exact and particular about the form, size, and sleeves of their garments, the form of their capes, and the dimensions of their surplices; for there are many who have been ten years at an university who could not excogitate the accoutrements of a clergyman in these days.

Parker now went vigorously on in per-  
1565. secuting the puritan clergy; and for this end cited them to Lambeth: he admonished some, and threatened the rest. Grindal withdrew; he was averse to the Archbishop's method of severity, and was afraid of a premunire, which he knew they were liable to, for framing and imposing articles without the royal assent. Stripe says, that the Archbishop was at much pains to gain Grindal, and at last brought him to a good resolution. He also wrote to the council, and craved their and the Queen's assistance to stir up the Bishop of London to his duty, which they accordingly did. Parker, according to Stripe's account of his life, was never at as much pains to instruct men to love one another, and to walk according to the gospel, as he was to prevail upon the court to help him to ensnare his brother, and to enforce his methods of cruelty and oppression.

Among those who were cited before the Archbishop at this time, were Mr Thomas Sampson, Dean of Christ church, and Dr Lawrence Humphreys, President of Magdalen college, Oxford, men of great reputation for learning, piety, and zeal for the reformation. They were exiles for religion in Queen Mary's reign, and were exposed

posed to many hardships; but now they refused the habits which brought them into new troubles. When they appeared the Archbishop pressed them with the opinions of Bucer and Peter Martyr, but the opinions of these divines were not sufficient to remove their scruples. They were commanded not to depart the city without leave; and after they had given long attendance, and received many rebukes from some counsellors for their obstinacy, as it was called, they wrote a very elegant letter, and sent it to the Archbishops and the rest of the ecclesiastical commissioners on the twentieth of March. In this letter they express their grief that there should be such dissensions about trifling ceremonies, when people were agreed in articles of faith; and produced many ancient authorities to prove that brethren may live together in the same church, though they use different rites and ceremonies, without imposing them upon one another. In one of their examinations the Archbishop put nine questions to them,\* which they answered.

#### Besides

\* 1. Is the surplice a thing evil and wicked, or is it indifferent? Answer. Though the surplice in substance be indifferent, yet in the present circumstance it is not, being of the same nature with the vestis peregrina, or the idolators apparel, for which God by the Prophet threatens to visit. 2. If it be indifferent for what cause? Answer. Because things which have been consecrated to idolatry are not indifferent. 3. Whether the ordinary or Bishop detesting popery, may enjoin the surplice to be worn, and enforce his injunction? Answer. It may be said to such a one in the words of Tertullian, si tu Diaboli pompam oderis, quicquid ex ea alligeris, id scias esse Idolatriam, i. e. if thou hatest the pomp and pageantry of the Devil, whatsoever of it thou meddlest with is idolatry, which if he believes, he will not enforce the injunction. 4. Whether the cope be a thing indifferent, being prescribed by law, for decency and reverence, and not in respect of superstition or holiness? Answer.  
Decency

Besides their answers the puritans subjoined some other arguments against habits, as, (1.) apparel ought to be worn, as meat ought to be used; but according to Paul meat offered to idols, ought not to be eaten, therefore popish apparel ought not to be worn. (2.) We ought not to give offence in matters of mere indifference; therefore the bishops who look upon habits to be matters of indifference, ought not to impose them. (3.) Popish garments have many mystical significations, for which purpose they are consecrated by the papists; we ought to consecrate them also, or lay them wholly aside. (4.) Our ministrations are supposed

Decency is not promoted by a cope, which was devised to deface the sacrament. St Jerom says, that the gold ordained by God for reverence and decency of the Jewish temple, is not to be admitted to beautify the church of Christ; and if so, much less copes brought in by papists, and consecrated in their service, as proper ornaments of religion. 5. Whether any thing that is indifferent may be enjoined, as godly, to the use of common prayer and sacraments? Answer. If it be merely indifferent, as to time, place, and such necessary circumstances of divine worship, for which there may be brought a ground out of scripture, we think it may. 6. Whether the civil magistrate may constitute by law, an abstinence from meats on certain days? Answer. Because of abstinence, a manifest commodity ariseth to the common wealth in policy, if it be sufficiently guarded against superstition, he may appoint it, due regard being had to persons and times. 7. Whether a law may be made for the difference of ministers apparel, from laymen? Answer. Whether such a prescription to a minister of the gospel of Christ be lawful, may be doubtful, because no such thing is decreed in the New Testament, nor did the primitive church appoint any such thing, but would rather that ministers be distinguished from the laity by their doctrine, than by their vestments. 8. Whether ministers going in such apparel as the papists used, ought to be condemned of any preacher for so doing? Answer. We judge no man; to his own master he stands or falls. 9. Whether such preachers ought to be reformed or restrained or not? Answer. Irenaeus will not have brethren restrained from brotherly communion, for diversity in ceremonies, provided there be unity in the faith and charity; and it is to be wished that there may be the like charitable permission among us.

posed by some, not to be valid, or acceptable to God, unless performed in such apparel, and this being a prevailing opinion, we judge it highly necessary to undeceive the people. (5.) Things indifferent ought not to be made necessary, because then they change their nature, and we lose our christian liberty. (6.) If we are bound to wear popish apparel when commanded, we may be obliged to have shaven crowns, and to make use of oil, spittle, cream, and all the rest of papistical additions to the ordinances of Christ.

The ecclesiastical commissioners were not unanimous in their opinions concerning the method of proceeding against the puritans; some were for answering the reasons which they had offered against the habits, and were for enforcing the practice of them with a protestation that they desired them removed; others were for compromising the matter, and permitting an indulgence. Humphrey's and Sampson, expressed their willingness to subscribe with the reserve of the apostle, all things *are lawful, but all things edify not*. But the archbishop who was at the head of the commission, was too much of a churchman to abate any thing; and told them in a peremptory tone, that they must either confirm to the habits or part with their livings. Sampson and Humphreys declared that they were determined in that point, and would prefer the testimony of a good conscience to every temporal emolument, upon this they were both arrested and put under confinement; but Sampson more especially felt the resentment of the Archbishop, and was confined for a long time, as a terror to others. By an express order

order of the Queen he was deprived of his deanry, and never after obtained any higher preferment in the church, than to be governor of a poor hospital. Humphrey although his place was not immediately under the power of the crown, nor at the Queen's disposal, yet durst not return to Oxford after his enlargement, but retired to a widow's house in Berkshire, who was a great friend to the persecuted non-conformists of these times. From his retirement he wrote a letter to the Queen, and made so many friends at court, that he obtained a toleration, but received no preferment till ten or twelve years after, when he submitted to the habits. He was indeed presented to a living within the diocese of Salisbury, by the Bishop of Winchester, but Jewel refused to admit him till he had good assurance of his conformity. The historians of former times, affirm that Humphrey was a moderate conscientious non-conformist, a great scholar, an able linguist, and deep divine; that he excelled most of the theologians of that period, yet none of these qualifications were sufficient to prefer him, till he conformed to the habits which were then the test of a true churchman. It may seem amazing to us who live in better times, to think that such unprofitable things should have been the occasion of such hot disputes in the church; but the pride and folly of men have always operated in the same manner, and have magnified evils, or diminished them according as their leading passion or interest directed them.

Parker's next enterprize was to reduce the diocese of London to obedience; for there it was that offenders were most numerous; but he was afraid to push

too fast, because the Queen would not seal the advertisements. He sent them again to the secretary, with a letter to Elizabeth, praying, that if not all, yet at least those articles that relate to apparel, might be returned with some authority; but the Queen remained stedfast to her former resolution, and would give no sanction to the advertisements; but issued a proclamation, peremptorily requiring uniformity in the habits on pain of prohibition from preaching, and deprivation. Parker was not a person who easily departed from executing his purposes; his next proceeding was to consult the lawyers what was the best method to pursue, and concluded with the rest of the commissioners, to summons the whole body of Pastors and curates, within the city of London, to appear at Lambeth, and examine them all, whether they would promise conformity to the apparel established by law, and testify the same by subscription. Those who demurred were immediately to be suspended, and after three months deprived of their livings. Before they proceeded to this general citation, they called the Rev. Mr Fox before them; that as he was accounted on all hands a man of great learning and piety, his example, if he should comply, would give some weight to the proceedings of the commissioners; but when they called him to subscribe, he took his Greek Testament out of his pocket and said, to this I will subscribe; when they presented him the canons to subscribe he refused, and said I have nothing in the church but a prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you, if you take it from me. The commissioners were confounded



at this reply, and their courage failed them, for they durst not proceed to deprive a man of so much merit, who by his martyrology, had set the ashes of Smithfield before their eyes.

The 26th of March being appointed for the appearance of the London clergy, the Archbishop requested the secretary, with some of the nobility and the Queen's council, to countenance the proceedings of the commissioners with their presence; but they refused to be concerned in such disgraceful work. When the London ministers appeared in court, Mr Thomas Cole, a clergyman, was placed by the side of the commissioners in priestly apparel, when the Bishop's Chancellor addressed them from the bench in these words; "my masters, and ye ministers of London, the council's pleasure is, that ye strickly keep the unity of apparel like this man who stands here canonically habited with a square cap, a scholar's gown priest-like, a tippet, and in the church, a linen surplice; ye who will subscribe write *volo*, those who will not subscribe write *nolo*: be brief, make no words." Some of the ministers attempted to speak, but were interrupted by the Chancellor, who cried, peace, peace, apparitor, call over the churches, and ye masters answer presently *sub pena contemptus*. The ministers were in great distress, knowing that they had only this alternative, either to pollute their consciences, or ruin their families, and some of them said, that they should be killed in their souls for such pollution. After much persuasion, sixty out of a hundred subscribed, and thirty-

seven

seven absolutely refused; among the last, according to the Archbishop's own confession, were some of the best preachers. The non-conformists were immediately suspended, and laid aside from the office of their ministry, with notice, that if they did not conform in the space of three months, they were to be deprived. Parker, by this severe and uncourtly behaviour, imagined that he would have provoked the ministers to behave in a rough and unseemingly manner, and have had some shadow of apology for his proceeding against them; but contrary to his expectations, they behaved soberly, gravely and modestly. They afterwards gave a paper signifying their reasons for refusing the habits.

That they were the cause of offence to many godly persons, who could not in conscience use them.—That it was contrary to christian liberty to impose them.—That it was contrary both to scripture, and the practice of the ancient fathers of the church, all these they illustrated by many passages of scripture, and quotations from the ancient writers in the church.

To this declaration the commissioners made no other reply than, that it was not their business to dispute, but to execute the Queen's injunctions. The Archbishop was highly pleased with the behaviour of his Chancellor, and said that he did not doubt but when the ministers had felt the smart of poverty and want, they would comply; for said he, the wood is yet but green. And he further declared, that he was fully resolved to go

through with the work he had begun; and the rather, because the Queen would have him to try with his own authority, what he could do for order. This Archbishop's ambition was boundless, and made him proceed so far as to solicit the secretary with letters for his countenance. In one of his epistles he makes use of very curious stile; for, says he "if we are not better backed, there will be fewer Winchesters as is desired. By this he referred to Stephen Gardner, the bloody Bishop of Winchester, in the reign of Queen Mary; but for my part, says he, so that my prince may win honour, I will be gladly the rock of offence, since the Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do to me, nor will I be amused or daunted, fremat mundus ruat cælum, though the world run into confusion, and the heavens go to wreck. This was the merciful and christian stile of the first Archbishop, who was consecrated by protestants. Stripe has endeavoured to gloss these paragraphs with a very favourable commentary, and attempted to prove that Parker was a mild and gentle Archbishop; but it is very probable, that if Stripe and Parker had suffered as many hardships as Parker inflicted upon many worthy honest men, they would have had a different opinion of the matter. No person possessed of the smallest degree of human feelings, whatever religion he may profess, can read the history of Archbishop Parker's conduct and proceedings, without being shocked at his cruelty and unrelenting misanthropy: who for the sake of things which he

he himself confessed to be indifferent, could prosecute tender hearted men, to the utmost extremity. He even paid no regard to the laws of the land, but by a very simple order from the Queen, trampled on the whole constitution. The vestments were not as yet established by any act of the legislature, nor by any formal deed of convocation; the Queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, were law-givers to the whole nation in this particular. When regal commissioners make laws for their own private ends, and enforce them by persecution, there is an end of all liberty, and the constitution at once. Parker will never be considered by any person who loves truth, and the laws of his country, in any other point of light than a scourge, permitted by heaven, to punish a guilty people for their iniquities. It signifies nothing whether he was papist, episcoparian, or presbyterian; for while his actions are contrary to the essential principles of christianity, and the natural rights of mankind, his memory must be handed down with disgrace to all future ages.

Every good man must in his heart abhor all persecutors of every persuasion, however they may have been dignified with offices, and celebrated by the demagogues of a party. True religion in its own nature is opposite to all persecution, and teaches mercy, judgment, and faith, as the duty of all its professors.

Many of the Bishops relented, and refused to proceed; but Parker was a person of more intrepidity. Other men's afflictions did not affect him; his

his heart was hardened against feeling for any man's misfortunes, provided he could gain honour with the Queen, and support his own interest. The queen might have been prevailed with to have abated of the rigour of these proceedings, and the Secretary, and the friends of the court declared they could not keep pace with Parker. Grindal and the Bishop of Durham, were particularly moved with the distresses of the non-conformists; and the Bishop of Durham declared that he would rather lay down his Bishoprick, than suffer such proceedings in his diocese. All this made no impression upon Parker, he was above all reproach, and destitute of feeling; and instead of abating any thing of his rigour, he grew more intolerable, and composed such injunctions for the clergy of London, as had never been heard of in any free state, or in a protestant country. The commissioners obliged every clergyman, who had the cure of souls, to swear obedience to all the Queen's injunctions, and letters patent.—To all letters from the privy council.—To the articles and injunctions of their metropolitan.—To the articles and mandates of their Bishop, Archdeacon, Chancellors, Somners, Receivers, &c. and to be subject to the commands of all their superiors with patience. To enforce these injunctions upon the puritans, there were four or eight censors, spies, or jurats, appointed in every parish, to take notice of all offences which might be given or received. These spies were obliged by their oath, to take particular notice of the clergy, and all their  
their

their parishioners, and to give in their presentments when required; whereby it was impossible for any honest puritan to escape the high commission. This unnecessary severity was the occasion of many evils to the nation; thereby many churches were shut up in the city of London, for want of ministers to do duty in them, which much affected all good men, and strengthened the hands of the papists, who rejoiced at seeing the reformers fall out with one another.

Many of those who were the most useful preachers, were now laid aside, and none were now found to supply their places, which raised a great murmuring among the people. Even some of the Bishops complained to the Queen, that many of her Majesty's people in the northern counties, were perishing for want of food, for their souls, and had not heard a sermon for seven years; and that their blood would be required at some person's hands. After this manner did Bishop Sandys preach before her Majesty. But Parker went on with his work; he called in all licences, according to the advertisements, and appointed all preachers throughout his whole province, to take out new ones. The design of this was, that he might include lecturers and occasional preachers, as well those who had the cure of souls. All parsons and curates were forbidden to suffer any to preach in their churches, upon any former licences granted by the Archbishop; and those who received new ones, bound themselves for time coming, not to disturb the establishment, nor vary from it.

The

The puritan preachers who could not in conscience take out new licences, kept their old ones; and made the best use of them that they could; they travelled through the country, and preached where they obtained leave. For this reason Bishop Jewel compared them to the apostles, and in some respects they did indeed resemble them, for they had neither silver nor gold, nor settled residence. There was at this time one thing which was of considerable advantage to the puritans; the university of Cambridge held a privilege, which was granted by Pope Alexander the sixth, to licence twelve ministers yearly, to preach any where throughout the whole kingdom of England, without obtaining licences from any of the Bishops. These preachers had their licence under the common seal of the university, and had liberty to preach *durante vita naturali*, during their natural life. The Archbishop wrote to the chancellor praying him to set aside this practice. The reasons he gave were (1) because the present licences varied from the original bull, for they were given out by the Vice Chancellor, whereas they ought to have been given by the Chancellor only; (2) Because it was unreasonable to give licences, *durante vita naturali*, i. e. for natural life; whereas they ought to be only *quam diu nobis placuerint & dum laudabiliter gesserint*, i. e. during our pleasure, or as long as they behaved well; (3) and what was most grievous to Parker, was the clause which infringed his own and brethren's jurisdiction, that they might preach without licence  
from

from any of the Bishops. This was accounted insufferable; the Vice-Chancellor was sent for to London, to defend the privileges of the university, which he did to the satisfaction of the Chancellor; this so enraged Parker, that he declared he would not admit any of their licences, without the Chancellor's name. He said he did not imagine that the Vice-Chancellor, by his pretended skill and experience in the civil law, could inform his honour of any thing he was not capable of answering. But his Grace met with a disappointment, for the university retained their privilege, and made use of it for the relief of the Puritans.

This summer the Queen visited the university of Cambridge, and continued there five days, and was entertained by the scholars with speeches and disputations. A philosophy act was kept by Thomas Byng, of Peter-house, on the two following questions. 1. Whether monarchy be not the best form of government. 2. Whether frequent alterations of the laws be not dangerous? The opponents were Mr Thomas Cartwright of Trinity College, Mr Chaderton of Queen's College, Mess. Preston and Clark of King's College, who performed their parts to the satisfaction of the Queen and the whole audience; but Preston pleased her Majesty best, and was made her scholar, with the settlement of a salary. The questions in divinity were. 1. Whether the authority of the scripture is greater than that of the church. (2.) Whether the civil magistrate has authority in ecclesiastical affairs? These were the test of those times.



At the end of the disputation the Queen made a short and elegant oration in Latin, encouraging the scholars to pursue their studies, with a promise of her countenance and protection. This university not long after, was brought to much trouble by a controversy, concerning the habits, especially the surplice. Dr Longworth, Master of St John's College, being absent, the Students of that university came to chapel without their hoods and surplices on a festival day, to the number of three hundred, and continued to do so for some time, and the master when he returned, took no notice of this transgression. In Trinity College all except three declared against the surplice, and the rest of the Colleges were ready to follow their example. The news of this proceeding was soon carried to court, and it was easy to perceive a storm arising against Cambridge. Several members of the university wrote to the secretary, humbly beseeching his intercession with the Queen, that they might not be compelled to receive a Popish ceremony which they had laid aside. Cecil wrote an angry letter, admonishing them to return quietly to the habits, which they had used before. He also wrote to the Vice Chancellor, requiring him to call together the heads of the Colleges, and let them know that their favour with the Queen depended upon their obedience in this particular.

The Masters of this university of Cambridge, were sensible of the danger they were in of losing their students, if the habits were pressed upon them, wrote another letter to Secretary Cecil, to  
in-

intercede with her Majesty for a dispensation; informing him that it would deprive the university of the most worthy and the most learned of their scholars, if the vestments were pressed with so much vigour, and religion and learning would thereby receive a mortal wound at once. This letter gave offence at court, especially to the ecclesiastical Commissioners; and Longworth was sent for, to appear before the Commissioners, and obliged to recant and read his recantation publicly in the church. The rest made their submission by letters. The scholars were brought back to the habits, and such as perceived in what channel preferment was likely now to be attained, and had no principles of religion, began to write in defence of the habits. Whitgift was among the first of these; and recommended himself so effectually, that he was afterwards preferred to the See of Canterbury, for his zeal in the defence of the habits. Cambridge, notwithstanding, was still a sanctuary for the Puritans.

The severity of the Archbishop, was dreadfully felt by the Clergy in London. Many were reduced to beggary, and others betook themselves to secular employments: some went beyond seas, others to Scotland; and a few became chaplains to Noblemen and Gentlemen. It was now a common thing to see churches shut up as if the plague had been in them, and no divine service performed in some large parishes. The people were distressed for their ministers, and ready to rise in mobs; six hundred people came to a church in

London on Palm-Sunday to receive the communion, but the doors were shut, and no minister to officiate. This was a strange sight in the city of London, and gave great offence. The complaints of the people reached the court; which made the Secretary write to the Archbishop to supply the churches, and release the prisoners: but Parker was inexorable, and was inclined that the people should have no sermons, rather than enjoy them without the surplice and cap. The Archbishop in a letter which he wrote to the secretary acquaints him, that when the Queen put him upon what he had done, he told her that these precise folks, would offer their goods and bodies to prison rather than relent; and her Highness willed him to imprison them. He confessed that many parishes were unprovided; that he had undergone many hard speeches, and much resistance from the people; but it was only what he expected. That he had sent his chaplains into the city, to serve in some of the great parishes, but they could not administer the sacrament because the officers of the parish had provided neither surplice nor wafer bread. In this letter he uttered many complaints against the people of London, and made some reflections against Grindal, the Bishop of that diocese, who was now sufficiently wearied of such disagreeable proceedings. Such a foolish letter was not worthy of any notice; and could give little satisfaction to the Secretary any farther than it expressed the sentiments of the Archbishop, with regard to his readi-

readiness to promote monarchy, and arbitrary government, which was at this time the principal object of Elizabeth's attention. It will not readily be admitted by true protestants, that the surplice and wafer bread are essentially necessary to the communion of the Lord's Supper, and yet the Archbishop could not administer the Lord's Supper without such ceremonies as he had already declared to be indifferent, and yet he makes them essentially necessary to a divine ordinance: such absurdity could only proceed from a mind warped by interest, and stimulated by unbounded pride, which inflames the passions, and hinders men from listening to the voice of reason and the dictates of conscience.

The zeal of the Archbishop and the obstinacy of the Queen, with regard to ceremonies, were not always approved by the council, 1566. they shewed a backwardness to countenance such violent measures, and sometimes refused to proceed. This temper in her Majesty's council, on some occasions restrained the fury of the high commission, which was now advanced to a degree of madness, inconsistent with reason, religion, and true policy. The high commission proceeded in the most arbitrary manner, and shewed no mercy to non-conformists: all her Majesty's injunctions were executed with rigour in the remotest corners of the kingdom, and the whole nation groaned under the yoke of oppression; all application to the Queen and her Commissioners were ineffectual; every complaint was considered as disobedience to the laws, and petitions ac-  
counted

counted disloyal libels against the Queen's government, and the petitioners punished as traitors to the Queen and enemies to the church. All hopes of redress or expectation of relief were now at an end : the Puritans had nothing to expect but poverty, punishment, and distress : they therefore resolved to give a representation of their cause to the world. Accordingly this year they published a small treatise in vindication of their conduct, in which they shew the absurdity and unreasonableness of imposing the ceremonies, from the scriptures and many ancient authorities, and conclude with a serious address to the Almighty for his interposition, when now all human help had failed them. Many other pamphlets were published in defence of the suspended ministers, which the Bishops ordered their chaplains to answer. Mr Stripe in his life of Parker says, that the Archbishop answered this representation of the Puritans ; but whoever was the author of that treatise, it does him but little honour. It is full of the spirit of persecution and tyranny, that it is not possible that he could be a true christian that composed it.

The ministers answered this abusive pamphlet with much temper and decency, which gave great discontent to the Bishops. They therefore to gain the populace, published the testimonies of some foreign protestant divines who were in much esteem, who had shewed some attachment to the ceremonies of the church of England. They published Melancthon's Exposition on Rom. xiii. 1. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. From whence they infer, that because things in some  
cases

cases are barely tolerable, offensive, and dangerous, yet in the mean time, they may be imposed under the severest penalties. The Puritans replied to all these attempts of their adversaries, and what was readily to be expected, their writings were greedily received by the people, while the answers of the Bishops were very little taken notice of.

The Bishops and High-commissioners were not a little nettled to see the respect that was paid to the Puritans, when their performances were suffered to die away in oblivion and contempt. They complained loudly to the council, that notwithstanding the Queen's injunctions, the differences in the church encreased by printing and publishing seditious libels, which inflamed the people, and rendered the established clergy contemptible in the eyes of the multitude. Their chief resource now was to have the liberty of the press restrained, that the non-conformists might have no opportunity to make any more appeals or apologies to the public. They at last procured the following decree of the Star-chamber: 1. That no person should print or publish any book against the Queen's injunctions, ordinances, or letters-patent, set forth or to be set forth, or against their meaning. 2. That such should forfeit all their books and copies, and suffer three months imprisonment, and never practise the art of printing any more. 3. That no person should sell, bind, or stitch such books, upon pain of forfeiting twenty shillings for every book. 4. That all forfeited books should be brought to Stationers-hall, and half the forfeited

feited money to be reserved for the Queen, the rest for the informer, and the books to be destroyed or made waste paper. 5. That the wardens of the company may from time to time search all suspected places, and open packs, dry fats, &c. wherein paper or foreign books may be contained; and enter all warehouses where they have reasonable suspicion, and seize all books and pamphlets against the Queen's ordinances, and bring the offenders before the ecclesiastical commissioners. 6. All stationers, booksellers, and merchants trading in books, shall enter into recognizances of reasonable sums of money, to observe the premises or pay the forfeitures. This was signed by eight of the privy council, and by the Bishops of Canterbury and London, with five more of the ecclesiastical commission, in the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign. This was a stretch of arbitrary power, unheard of in all free states, and was excogitated principally by the clergy, who are generally among the first to encroach upon the liberties of others, when they have power in their hands. The liberty of the press is the terror of tyrants, and all who have not truth on their side to support their cause. Wicked and ambitious men are not only disposed to deprive others of their rights and privileges, but cannot endure that the injuries they commit should be represented in their proper colours to the public: error and falshood are objects of ridicule as soon as they are known, and for that reason their friends are ashamed to have them published, and for the  
most

most part endeavour to stop all channels of publication which they have in their power. All the wide steps towards arbitrary power which have ever been made in Britain, in either church or state, have been attended with a disposition to restrain the liberty of the press; and there is not a more certain mark of some intended encroachment upon the natural rights of mankind, than the stopping of this channel of conveyance. Public managers in church or state, have no occasion to be afraid that the publication of their conduct, will expose them when they act worthily; the more visible worthy actions are made, the more praise and approbation are likely to redound to the actors; but it betrays a consciousness of some bad intention, when men who are employed for the public, want to conceal their proceedings from its inspection. This Star-chamber was one of the most infamous courts that ever existed in Britain, or any other nation, and except the Inquisition, it is a question if ever it was equalled in any nation in Europe. It interfered with both the souls and bodies of men, it deprived ministers of their offices, and fined or imprisoned them according as the commissioners pleased; and as it was the Queen's court, an appeal to her or any other power had no effect. Petitions to the sovereign, when he is swayed by despotic principles, has always been found to be ineffectual; and the petitioners have, for the most part, been accounted disloyal, and their petitions libels against the state.



The Puritans from this time, till the days of Charles the first, proceeded in humble supplications to the throne, but never received any redress of their grievances. The government proceeded in the same arbitrary manner, and made larger advances to despotism, till they threw the nation into such convulsions, as shook the throne itself, and tumbled the unhappy monarch Charles from his seat, and sent him into the other world.

The non-conformists were now severely persecuted; their livings were sequestered, their persons imprisoned, and they had no opportunity to publish their case to the world; shut up in darksome prisons, where left to pine away their days in sorrow, poverty, and want, their friends were not permitted to administer comfort to them, nor allowed to supply their wants: they were now wholly under the power of arbitrary tyrants, whose tender mercies were cruel, whose guilty souls were hardened against distress, and whose hearts were steeled against the cries of mourners. Oppression at last pushed them to lengths they never intended, and which they could not well avoid. Such as were yet unconfined and had liberty, assembled to consult what was proper to be done in such an alarming crisis. They at last agreed to separate from a church which now breathed nothing but persecution, and paid no regard to any principles of religion or morality; that persecuted its ministers for not complying with unprofitable ceremonies, which, by the very imposers, were accounted indifferent. From this time they laid aside

side all common prayer and service of the church of England, and embraced that of Geneva; they formed separate assemblies for worship, and no longer accounted themselves members of the established church of England. The reader may make his own remarks upon the conduct of both parties, and learn from their proceedings who were to blame for this separation.

From this time the divisions in the church encreased, and those called Puritans became more numerous, notwithstanding all the troubles and persecutions they met with from the Queen and the ruling clergy. The principal objections which the Puritans urged at this time for their non-conformity, were the habits and ceremonies; but there were other things with which they were far from being satisfied. The hierarchy, or the superiority of bishops above presbyters, and their claiming the sole right of ordination, and the power of the spiritual keys, was a thing they were not satisfied with. The other dignities assumed by church-men, they thought inconsistent with the spiritual character they assumed, and not agreeable to the humble station of ministers of Christ. They affirmed that Archdeacons, Deans, Chapters, and other officials belonging to cathedrals, had no authority in scripture nor primitive institution; and that the exorbitant power of the bishops and their chancellors in their spiritual courts, were derived from the Popish canon law, and not from revelation or the statute law of the land. They complained of the neg-

lest of discipline, and the promiscuous admission of all persons to the communion of our Lord's Supper; they had also many objections to the liturgy, and the marriage and burial offices. They disapproved of reading the apocryphal books in the church, while some parts of canonical scripture were omitted; and affirmed that pluralities and non-residents were unlawful. Festival days and singing prayers in cathedral-churches, were likewise complained of as inconsistent with scripture worship, and they declared that organs were not a New Testament institution. The cross in baptism and the form of churching women, they declared to be unscriptural; the use of god-fathers and god-mothers while the parents were church members, and the practice of confirming children, they looked upon as unlawful; kneeling at the sacrament, bowing at the name of Jesus, the use of the ring in marriage, and the form of words then used, they believed to be sinful. There was no difference between the church and Puritans in point of doctrine, for they nearly agreed in these points.

The main and the most essential difference between the Puritans and the friends of the hierarchy, was concerning the rights of private judgment. The Puritans at that time maintained, though afterwards some of them went contrary to their principles, that it is the right of every man to judge for himself in all matters of religion, and make profession of that religion, which to him appears most agreeable to revelation, as  
far

far as it does not effect the peace of the government he lives under, without being determined by the prejudices of education, the laws of the civil magistrate, or the decrees of council, churches, or synods. This was at once throwing off all Lordship in matters of faith, and entirely contrary to the plan which the Queen and Bishops pursued at this time. This was indeed the original principle of protestants, upon which they founded their dissent from the church of Rome, and without pursuing this maxim, whatever professions men make, they are of the same principles with those of the Roman church; for it is of small consequence whether one or a hundred men be lords of our faith; while we are not allowed to judge for ourselves, we have no faith which we can call our own. The chief men who were accounted the heads among the Puritans, were Coleman, Burton, Halingham, Benson, White, Rowland, and Hawkins, who were beneficed clergy, within the diocese of London. They all had their particular admirers and followers, who forsook the parish churches and assembled with them in such places as they could best with safety worship God, with the habits and ceremonies of the church.

The proceedings of the Puritans were soon carried to court, and aggravated with many grievous circumstances. This gave great offence to the Queen and the Bishops, who were ready to persuade her that many things were worse than what had been reported. Elizabeth upon this commanded the ecclesiastical commissioners, who were very  
well

well disposed for the service, to take effectual measures to make the laity attend at their own parish churches, upon pain of being deprived of their freedom as citizens, or to suffer the punishment she should appoint. This was an uncommon stretch of prerogative, and contrary to the whole tenor of Magna Charta and the liberty of free citizens; for there was then no law in existence for disfranchising any man for not coming to church.

The Puritans were not careful to obey the Queen's orders, and took no manner of notice of her threatening message; they went on with their private assemblies; and on the 19th of June agreed to have a sermon on the communion, at Plumber's hall, which they hired for that day, on pretence of celebrating a wedding. They were detected and broke up by the Sheriffs of London, in the time of their worship, and many of them were taken into custody, and sent to the compter; next day about seven or eight of them were brought before the Bishop of London: some other clergymen, and the Lord Mayor, when they were charged with condemning the church of England, which was a church reformed according to the word of God; one in name of the rest replied, that they did not condemn them, but assembled to maintain the word of God, and to stand to the truth.

The Bishop asked them if they could make any reply to the things which were brought against them; one Mr Smith answered, that they thanked God for the reformation, and that as long as they could

could hear the word of God preached without idolatrous figures about it, they never assembled in private houses; but when matters were brought to that length, that their Ministers were displaced for refusing the habits, and they could hear none of them in the church for seven or eight weeks, except Father Coverdale, they began to consult what was proper for them to do in such a situation; and remembering that there had been a congregation of protestants in the City of London, in the reign of Queen Mary, and an other of English exiles at Geneva, that used a book framed by the divines there, they resolved to meet privately, and use that book; and in conclusion, Mr Smith offered in the name of the rest, to yield and do penance at St Paul's Cross, if the Bishop and the Commissioners with him could reprove that book, or any thing they had held from the word of God. The Bishop told them they could not reprove the book, but that was not a sufficient reason for their not going to church. To which Smith replied, that he would as soon go to mass, as to some churches, and particularly to his own parish church, for the Minister who did duty there was a very Papist. Others said the same of other parish Priests. The Bishop then asked them, if they accused any of them; upon which one of them named Mr Bedel who was present, but the Bishop was not disposed to receive the accusation.

The Dean of Westminster, who was one of the ecclesiastical Commission, charged them with derogating from the Queen's authority, of appointing  
indif-

indifferent things in the worship of God. One of them replied, that it did not belong to the authority of a Prince, nor the liberty of a christian man, to use and defend what pertained to Papal idolatry, and the Pope's canon law. Another observed that these things were preferred to the word of God, and the ordinances of Christ. The Bishop asked them what it was that was preferred before these? One of them boldly replied, that which was upon the Bishop's head, and upon his back: their copes, surplices, and canon laws. Another observed that both prince and people ought to obey the word of God. The Bishop affirmed, that princes had a right to order and command what was indifferent; but some of them desired him to prove that point, and asked him where he found it? But his Grace was not disposed to enter into a debate, where he found his antagonists had the better of the argument, but in general alledged the judgment of the learned Bullinger. Mr Smith told him, that perhaps they could shew Bullinger against Bullinger, in the affair of the habits, which would set aside his authority.

After many things were urged on both sides, the issue of the whole was, they were sent prisoners to Bridewell, where several, both men and women, continued for a whole year. They were at length released by order of the council, with an admonition to behave better for the future.

The violence of the High-commission, 1568. produced a very contrary effect from what was expected; instead of lessening the number

ber of the Puritans, or daunting their spirits, their hardships encreased their numbers, and promoted their zeal. They remained steady and unshaken under all the species of persecution, which were used to destroy them; and affectionately encouraged one another to stand stedfastly to the cause of truth, which they had espoused. Their spirit and temper may easily be perceived from the animated letters they wrote on these occasions, to encourage their brethren under their afflictions: some of these epistles may be seen at large in Neal's History of the Puritans. But neither the strength of their arguments, nor the severity of their sufferings, made any impression upon the temper of the Commissioners, who used their utmost endeavours to harass the Puritans, by preventing their religious assemblies, where they knew they were, and by their spies searching them out where they were concealed. Strict orders were given, that none should be permitted to preach in any pulpits of London, without license from the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London. This effectually excluded all the conscientious Puritans from opportunities of preaching in any public place of worship; and they were reduced to great hardships, in pursuing the exercise of their religion in private.

This year many French protestants fled into England, on account of a severe persecution raised against them by the French King, who broke thorough all his edicts, concerning the free exercise of religion, and persecuted the Protestants



with the utmost severity. The Protestant religion appeared now in a dangerous situation. Elizabeth was now afflicted both in body and mind, and the Papists in great expectations that there would be a revolution in their favour: but the prisons were full of Protestant Ministers, and the non-conformists suffered all sorts of severities.

The Bishops about this time published the Bible in folio, which has since received the name of the Bishops Bible, and had a preface prefixed to it, composed by Archbishop Parker. It was only Cranmer's translation amended and corrected by several learned men, whose names are to be found in several of our Church Histories. The intention of this translation was to set aside that of Geneva, which was offensive to the Bishops. This version continued till the last translation, in the reign of James the first of England, was substituted in its place. The reformation was now in great danger both at home and abroad; the Popish princes entered into a league with the Pope, to extirpate the reformed religion out of the world, and their association especially threatened England. The principal heads of this league were the Kings of Spain, France and Portugal, with the Duke of Savoy, and some other inferior princes. Their intention was, by force of arms, to depose all the protestant Princes, and to establish those of the Catholic persuasion in their place, and to extirpate all the abettors of Luther or Calvin. The Pope engaged to discharge his thunderbolts against the Queen of England, and  
to

to absolve her subjects from their allegiance to her. In prosecuting this league, they engaged to carry on a war against the Dutch Protestants, and to execute every kind of rigour against the reformed in France and Germany. As soon the Protestants were informed of this confederacy, they entered into a league for their mutual defence, and solicited the Queen of England to join with them. Elizabeth made a polite excuse to the protestants, but at the same time made intercession by her ambassadors, in behalf of the French reformers. The Popish confederacy was not so easily broken, as to be set aside by treaties, which when the Queen perceived, she assisted the confederate Protestants with men and money to carry on a war against their own Sovereign. The Popish princes reproached her for this conduct, and the doctrine of passive obedience, which prevailed in her reign, did not well agree with this part of her behaviour. It was however a necessary piece of policy at this time, and upon the principles on which the kingdoms of this world act, was as allowable as many other parts of their conduct to one another. The Popish party in England were in motion thro' all parts of the kingdom, ready to assist in any enterprize, which might be serviceable to the old religion, or might do injury to Elizabeth. The priests wrought upon the superstition of the vulgar, by publishing prophecies concerning the death of the Queen, and employed all their address to inflame the minds of the populace, to stir them up for rebellion. The new Popish league which was

formed by so many powerful Princes on the continent, gave some probability to the vain predictions of those who meant to seduce the weak and unwary. It did not appear improbable that so many mighty monarchs, who were all solemnly engaged to extirpate the reformation, might dispossess the Queen of England of her dominions, and establish popery as formerly, there being such a powerful party in England, to co-operate with their designs. In Lancashire they laid aside the new liturgy, shut up their churches, and said mass contrary to the express laws of the land. The Queen's Commissioners could not bring them to order, and were obliged to desist with binding some of the principal ring-leaders to their good behaviour, in recognizances of one hundred marks. The universities were almost full of Papists, who behaved in such a tumultuous manner, that the Bishop of Winchester was obliged to send for the ecclesiastical commission to reduce them to order. Swarms of Papists harboured in the inns of court, and in all public places, waiting for the death of the Queen, and the succession of Mary Queen of Scotland, whom they earnestly wished might ascend the throne of England.

This year was remarkable for rebellions 1569. in several parts of the kingdom, and for the Pope's bull, wherein he excommunicated Elizabeth, and absolved all her subjects from their allegiance. He calls the Queen an usurper, and a vassal of iniquity, declares her an heretic, and an encourager of heretics, and anathematizes  
 . all

all that adhere to her. He deprives her of the royal crown and dignity, and excites all Princes to take up arms against her. The Earls of Northumberland, and Westmoreland, broke out into open rebellion, and assembled above four thousand of their friends and vassals: their pretence was to restore popery, and deliver the Queen of Scots. In Durham they tore the bible and the book of common prayer to pieces, and set up the mass in all places where they came. Lord Dacres raised another rebellion on the borders of Scotland; but all of these conspirators were either executed for their crimes, exiled or dispersed, without producing any thing of advantage to their party. The late bull from Rome, alarmed the ministry, and put them upon their guard, but it was found that the Pope's bulls had lost their usual effect, and that the popish Princes were jealous of a power which might some time or other affect themselves, if it was not restrained and kept within just bounds: for this reason, though the Bishop of Rome had forbidden all correspondence with Elizabeth, the Princes of the catholic persuasion continued to correspond with her in their usual manner.

The English Roman catholics remained as yet quiet, except those which have been already mentioned, though they separated from the church, and refused to join in the established form of religion. The Queen took occasion from this, to require all justices of the peace, and other officers in Commission in all the counties of England,

land, to subscribe an instrument professing their conformity and obedience to the act of uniformity in religion, and for due resorting to their parish churches, to hear the common-prayer. This order of the Queen was as hard upon the Puritan non-conformists, as upon the Papists. Her Majesty was not careful in matters of this sort, to make proper distinctions with regard to the persons whom an order of this sort might affect; for she remained quite indifferent concerning men's consciences, provided she could procure obedience to her arbitrary injunctions. Her conduct on this occasion raised a loud clamour against her; which was chiefly promoted by the gentlemen of the inns of court, against whom this order was also intended. They complained that the Queen intended to impose upon men's consciences, and to make a handle of religion, to ruin both their souls and their worldly interest. To prevent the influence of this report, she published a declaration, setting forth, "That she did not enquire into people's sentiments, but only required conformity to the laws, and that all who came to the church and observed her injunctions, should be accounted good subjects." Nothing could be more absurd than this declaration; for it had all the appearance of an intension to compel men to act contrary to their consciences, or to profess what they did not believe with their hearts, or suffer the severest rigours of arbitrary laws.

When the parliament assembled they passed a law, which made it high treason, to call the Queen a heretic,

heretic, schismatic, tyrant, or usurper ; to publish the Pope's bulls ; to be reconciled to the church of Rome, or give absolution by virtue of these bulls : concealing or not discovering offenders against this law, is accounted misprision of treason. The papists were now obliged by a public protestation, to acknowledge Elizabeth the lawful Queen of England, and to renounce the Pope's authority over her, or any of her subjects ; and on purpose that the Puritans might be taken in, a protestation was formed for them also, much of the same tenor with the former. This was altogether superfluous ; for the non-conformists were true subjects to the Queen, and many of the clergy of that persuasion, served her as chaplains in the army and navy, though they were not admitted to preach in any of the churches. The policy of this reign was unnatural, cruel and barbarous ; for no distinction was made between a loyal subject and a traitor, provided he did not absolutely adhere to the arbitrary dictates of the Queen and the clergy in all things. Her Majesty's pleasure was held more sacred than the laws of the land, and it was as dangerous to transgress her despotic injunctions, as to break the laws. All were obliged not only to obey the public laws of the nation, but to profess their approbation of what the Queen thought fit to command by her arbitrary declaration. The violence of the measures which were at this time pursued, instead of bringing any into the church, opened a breach which perhaps would never have been thought upon, had the ministry used a little more

more moderation. But at this time the ministry, clergy and parliament, were solely directed by the pleasure of the Queen, and whatever she thought fit to recommend was readily observed and put in practice. Prerogative was now exalted above law itself, and the Queen was in effect the sole legislator.

This year the penal laws were put in 1570, execution with the utmost rigour. Many were cited into the spiritual courts, and after a long attendance and great expence, were deprived; the messenger of the court, or according to the law stile the pursuivant, was paid by the mile, and the fees were so exorbitant, which the prisoners were obliged to pay before they were discharged, that they were unable to procure their liberty. The method of proceeding was arbitrary and vexatious; witnesses were seldom required to prove the charges which were brought against the prisoners, but usually an oath was tendered to them, to answer the interrogatories of the court: which if they refused, they examined them without it, and convicted them upon their own confession. But if the prisoners were dismissed, they were frequently ruined with the expences, and bound over to appear again, when the court should call for them. Such as were honest, and confessed all the truth, were most severely punished upon their own confession, and rendered poor and wretched all the remaining part of their days. Such proceedings were expressly contrary to the laws of England, and the

the whole scope of the christian religion ; for no man is obliged by law to be his own accuser, nor to answer ensnaring questions, which may tend to his own hurt and prejudice ; and christianity requires, that we should do to others as we would wish them to do to us in like circumstances : but it would be absurd to suppose, that any persons would ever desire others should oblige them to do a real injury to themselves, or even put it in the power of others to do it ; such arbitrary stretches of prerogative argues either the weakness of administration, or the despotic disposition of the chief magistrates. None except governors, who are conscious that they deserve no love and regard from their subjects, will attempt to exert their prerogative above or beyond the laws of their country ; and it always argues some ill design in the ministry, or whoever executes the laws, when they want to enforce subjection by acts expressly contrary to the public statutes of their country. In times of ignorance when the minds of men were shackled with the fetters of superstition, and enfeebled with implicit faith in the clergy, it might be easy for princes to extend their prerogative beyond law, and for ministers to behave tyrannically. Every exertion of men's natural rights was constructed rebellion ; and weak minds were ready to believe, that it was a sin to refuse any thing which King's required, and priests desired them to give : but as soon as knowledge began to encrease, men began to perceive their privileges, and to assert their



own rights. While men were afraid to think freely on religion, they remained slaves in every other respect; but no sooner did they begin to judge for themselves in matters of faith and duty, than they also considered their privileges as members of society, and their own consequence in the scale of government. They learned the difference between being subject to law, and being slaves to princes, and such as they pleased to appoint to tyrannize over them; they gradually learned the import of the *pacta conventa* in society, and the necessity of keeping a proper balance in human affairs. Nothing but ignorance and dissipation can enslave men; for as long as they know their own interests, and attend to them, no aspiring individuals will be able to rob them of their just rights and privileges. In this reign the Queen's arbitrary power was carried to a most exorbitant pitch, and ministers, by her authority, proceeded contrary to the very fundamental laws of the kingdom.—The doctrine of answering interrogatories upon oath, and punishing by confession of the party was now common; and the Bishops and the the Queen's Commissioners, were almost constantly employed in extorting confessions from the non-conformists, and punishing them in consequence of their honest and free declarations. All free debate was now accounted criminal, and arguments offered in defence of what men believed, provided they did not coincide with what was the common creed of the Queen and the Bishops, were constructed rebellion, obstinacy and heresy. A re-  
marka-

markable instance of this we have in the case of Mr Axton, minister of Morton Corbet, in Leicestershire, who was three times this year cited into the Bishop's court, and examined upon the reasons for his refusing the apparel, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the sacrament, all which he debated with the Bishops and their officers, in such a manner as they could neither charge him with any indecent disrespect to their persons, nor were they able to answer his arguments. The dispute was concerning the Queen's supremacy in matters purely religious :—The calling of Bishops :—The tendering of oaths *ex officio* :—concerning parsons and vicars :—the cross in baptism :—kneeling at the sacrament :—the surplice :—organs, or instrumental music :—whether the Queen might not baptize if she were a man, and some other points which persons, who live in this present age, will probably believe were not of much consequence to create so much altercation, or be the occasion of so many severe laws.

The dispute was at length concluded, and Axton deprived of his living, who was forc'd to seek his bread in another country, though the Bishops confessed that he was a divine of good learning, a ready memory, and well qualified for a pulpit. The Puritans were now laid under great hardships, thrust out of the churches, and deprived of their livings ; the laws were more severely executed against them, than against the papists, and such as did not in due time flee their native country, were confined in prisons, or put to death.

All these were done by men professing the protestant reformed religion, and who agreed with the Puritans in the most essential parts of religion.

The dispute concerning religion, since the reformation, had been chiefly confined to a few articles; such as the surplice, the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and some few more of small importance. Now a new field of controversy was opened: Mr Thomas Cartwright, B. D. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lady Margaret's Professor, began to dispute against some capital points in the English hierarchy. He reduced them into heads, and signed them. They were six in number: 1. That the names and functions of Archbishops and Archdeacons, had no foundation in the New Testament. 2. That the offices of Bishop and Deacon, should be reduced to the primitive order, mentioned in the New Testament; and that the Bishops ought to teach, and the Deacons take care of, the poor. 3. That the government of the church ought not to be left to the care of Bishops, Chancellors, or the officiates of Archdeacons, but that every church should be governed by its own minister and Presbyters. 4. That every minister should be confined to his flock or charge. 5. That no man should ask or stand as a candidate for the ministry. 6. That Bishops should not be appointed by civil authority, but be chosen by the people. These articles aimed a blow at the very root of the hierarchy, and were very ill received by the Bishops. It was alledged they were untrue, dangerous

gerous, and tended to the ruin of learning and religion. They were sent to Secretary Cecil, Chancellor of the University, who advised the Vice Chancellor to silence the author, or oblige him to recant. Cartwright was not so easily put to silence; he was a man of great learning, popularity, and intrepidity. His lectures were attended by great crowds, and his name was famous among the learned. He was opposed by Doctor Whitgift, who preached against him; whom he challenged to a public disputation, which he refused, unless he should obtain a licence from the Queen. Whitgift offered a private dispute in writing, which Cartwright would not agree to. Whitgift collected a number of articles out of Cartwright's lectures, and sent them to the court to incense the Queen and Chancellor against him. These were called dangerous and seditious Propositions. They contained the following things:

That in reforming the church, all things should be reduced to the apostolical institution;—that no man should be admitted into the ministry, except he is capable of preaching;—None but such a minister of the word ought to pray publicly in the church, or administer the sacrament;—that popish ordinations are not valid;—only canonical scripture ought to be read in the churches;—the public liturgy should be so framed, that there be no private praying or reading in the church, but that all the people attend to the prayers of the minister;—the care of burying the dead does not belong to the ministerial office

fice, more than to the rest of the church ;—all canonical scripture deserves equal reverence ;—all the names of God are equally holy, and deserve equal reverence, and therefore it is unlawful to bow at the name of Jesus ;—it is as lawful to sit at the Lord's table, as to kneel or stand ;—that the Lord's Supper ought not to be administered in private, nor baptism by women or laymen ;—the sign of the cross in baptism is superstitious ;—that sponsors for children should neither be women, nor under age ;—in giving names to children, it is convenient to avoid paganism, as well as the names, and offices of Christ, and angels, &c.—it is papistical to forbid marriages at certain times of the year, and to give licences in those times is intolerable ;—private marriages are highly inconvenient ;—the observation of Lent, and fasting on Fridays and Saturdays, is superstitious ;—the observation of festivals is unlawful ;—trading, or keeping markets on the Lord's-day, is unlawful ;—in ordaining ministers, the pronouncing those words, “ receive thou the Holy Ghost,” is both superstitious and wicked ;—Kings and Bishops should not be anointed.

Whitgift meant now to do something to obtain preferment, and he knew the only method for attaining his end, was to attack the Puritans. The articles which he extracted from Cartwright's lectures, were all of them very orthodox, or exceedingly innocent ; but as some of them were against the institution of diocesan Bishops, and the glory of a fine church militant, they

they gave great offence to the Queen and the Bishops. The friends of Cartwright were in his favour, and endeavoured to vindicate him from the charges which were brought against him by Whitgift; they proved that he had delivered his lectures with great caution, and had never touched upon the habits, which were now a great matter of controversy. There were twenty-five respectable persons who wrote in behalf of Cartwright, and afterwards came into favour and preferment, but the policy of the times required, that Mr Cartwright should be made an example of. He wrote a letter to the secretary in latin, wherein he offers to vindicate his conduct against all his accusers; but it was determined by those in authority, that he should be disgraced; so none of his defences were taken any notice of. He was first denied his degree of Doctor in Divinity, and forbidden to read publick lectures any more; at last he was deprived of his fellowship, and expelled the University.

Mr Cartwright was now put out of all employment, and obliged to travel beyond sea: In his exile, he settled a correspondence with the most celebrated divines in all the universities in Europe, where he was admired by the learned, and esteemed by the good and the virtuous. He was chosen Minister to the English merchants at Antwerp, and afterwards at Middleburgh, where he continued for two years, with little or no advantage to himself; he was earnestly solicited by letters

to return into England, and he complied with the desire of his friends, and remained in a state of non-conformity and persecution.

This year Grindal, Bishop of London, was translated to York, and Sandays, Bishop of Worcester, was removed to London. He began his first visitation on the tenth of June, and delivered his charge to the clergy, in which he strictly charged them:—To keep strictly to the book of common-prayer;—not to preach without a licence;—to wear the apparel, namely, the square cap, scholars gown and surplice;—to admit no other parishes to their communion.

The parliament assembled this year on 1571. the second of April. Their first attempt was to soften the rigours of the persecution, which bore hard upon the Puritans. The enmity of the bishops, and the arbitrary injunctions of the Queen had reduced the non-conformists to the greatest misery and distress. Whether the Puritans did not, on some occasions, give grounds of offence, by some unnecessary disputes and intemperate zeal, I shall not say; but it is manifest from the history of those times, that they were grievously oppressed, and oppression often makes wise men act foolishly.

When the parliament began to proceed to business, Mr Strickland, an ancient gentleman offered a bill, for a farther reformation in the church, and introduced it with a speech, proving that the Common Prayer-book, with other superstitious re-  
mains

mains of popery in the church, might easily be altered, without the least danger of changing religion. This bill was opposed by the treasurer of the Queen's household, who rose up and said, that all matters of ceremonies were to be referred to the Queen, and that it was dangerous for them to meddle with the royal prerogative. Mr Strickland's conduct gave great offence to Elizabeth, for which he was called before the council, and forbidden to attend the house of parliament. This proceeding of the Queen and her council, was alarming to the members of the house of commons, and occasioned many warm speeches, which made the Queen give orders immediately to restore him. This was carrying the prerogative to its utmost extent, and in effect, was destroying the freedom of parliaments. Mr Strickland proceeded further, and moved, that a confession of faith should be published and confirmed by parliament, as in other protestant countries; and that a committee might be appointed to confer with the Bishops on this head. They drew up certain articles, according to those which passed in the convocation one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, but left out others. The Archbishop asked them, why they left out the article concerning the homilies, and the consecration of Bishops, and some others relating to hierarchy. Mr Wentworth replied, that they had done so, because they had not yet examined how far they were consistent with the word of God, having confined themselves chiefly to doctrine: the Archbishop replied, you will certainly refer



yourself wholly in things of this nature to us, the Bishops? To which Mr Wentworth warmly replied: No, by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were to make you Popes: make you Popes who list, we will make you none. So the articles with regard to discipline, were waved, and an act was passed, confirming all the doctrinal articles agreed upon, in the synod of one thousand five hundred and sixty-two.

This act is intitled, an act for the reformation of disorders in the ministers of the church; and enjoins all that have any ecclesiastical livings, to declare their assent before the Bishop of the diocese, to all the articles of religion, which only concern the true faith, and the doctrines of the sacraments, comprised in the book imprinted and intitled, Articles: whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops, &c. and the whole clergy, in the convocation of one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, for avoiding diversity of opinions, and for the establishing consent, touching true religion, and to subscribe them, which were to be testified by the Bishop of the diocese, under his seal; which testimonial, he was to read publicly with the said articles, as the confession of his faith, in his church on a Sunday, in the time of divine service, or else to be deprived. If any clergyman maintained any doctrine, repugnant to the said articles, the Bishop might deprive him. None were to be admitted to any benefice with the cure, except he was a Deacon, of  
the

the age of twenty-three years, and would subscribe and declare his unfeigned assent to the articles above-mentioned. Nor might any administer the sacraments, under twenty-four years of age.

This law, tho' it was disagreeable to the Bishops, was at the same time no ways friendly to christian liberty; for no minister could enjoy a living in the church, except he would conform to this law: and there is no great difference, whether the parliament or convocation be lords over the faith of christians. The principles of the christian religion teach us, that every christian has a right to enquire into the evidence of all truths offered to his assent; and that no man ought to suffer loss, on account of what he believes on proper conviction. It is therefore highly absurd for any human legislature, to pretend to direct the judgments and rule the consciences of such as have a right to judge for themselves,

There was a clause in this act of parliament, which allowed ordination by presbyters without a Bishop, which was afterwards disallowed by the Bishops in this reign. The English Bishops and clergy, considered it a necessary part of their church policy, to reordain all those ministers who had not been ordained by a Bishop. Such as had been ordained in foreign churches, when they returned home, were obliged to submit to reordination, or be refused the privilege of preaching as a pastor in the church of England. To confirm this practise, a statute was made, which en-

acted that every person under the degree of a Bishop, that doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's word and sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration, or ordering, than the form set forth in parliament, in the time of the late King Edward the sixth, or now used in the reign of our most sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, shall before Christmas next declare his assent, and subscribe the articles aforesaid. The meaning of which clause, says Mr Stripe, is undoubtedly to comprehend papists, and likewise, such as receive their orders in some of the foreign reformed churches, when they were in exile under Queen Mary.

Several historians have with great warmth disputed the meaning of the clause in this act, which respects church government; some affirming, that it was contained in the articles of one thousand five hundred and sixty-two; others asserting, that it was not: the one party affirming that it is not inserted in that copy, which was found amongst Archbishop Parker's papers, in Bennet College library: the other alledging that that copy was not a true one of these articles, and for that reason, concludes, that it bears no weight in the argument. But whatever has been alledged on both sides, it is highly probable, that if Archbishop Parker, had had the least reason to have inserted it, it would not have been wanting in his copy. It is indeed alledged, that this disputed clause is to be found in three different editions of the articles, before one thousand five hundred and seventy-one; but

but as the greatest part of historians never saw any of these printed copies, there is reason to conclude that they never existed.

The friends of superstition, and the lovers of rites and ceremonies in religious worship, plead resolutely for this contested clause; but it is of small moment to christianity, whether ever it had been in the articles or not. The doctrinal articles of the church, have been reckoned by many wise men burdensome enough, as it is next to an impossibility for any number of fallible men, to frame thirty-nine articles in any human words, that the clergy of any one church can agree to: and there was no occasion for a load of rites and ceremonies to add to the burden. The chief intention of articles of religion, was to guard against diversity of opinions; but unless they were so calculated as to suit the capacity of every individual, it is impossible that ever they can answer that end: they were never commanded by God under the New Testament, nor is there any promise in revelation to secure their influence upon the human heart. Those who have agreed in establishing human articles, have differed as much among themselves in practice, as those who have denied their utility; which is not only an argument of their insufficiency, but a reason why they ought to be laid aside.

Altho' the commons were forbidden to interfere with matters concerning church discipline, they yet proceeded to address the Queen concerning the want of it. In this address they affirm, " that  
" for

“ for lack of true discipline in the church, great  
 “ numbers are admitted ministers, that are infa-  
 “ mous in their lives and conversations; and a-  
 “ mong those that are of ability, their gifts in  
 “ many places are useless by reason of pluralities  
 “ and non-residency, whereby infinite numbers of  
 “ your Majesty’s subjects are like to perish for  
 “ lack of knowledge. By means of this, together  
 “ with the common blaspheming of the Lord’s  
 “ Name, the most wicked licentiousness of life,  
 “ the abuse of excommunication, the communica-  
 “ tion of penance, the great numbers of atheists,  
 “ schismatics, daily spring up, and the increase of  
 “ papists, the protestant religion is in imminent  
 “ danger; wherefore in regard first and princi-  
 “ pally to the glory of God, and next in dis-  
 “ charge of our bounden duty to your Majesty;  
 “ besides being moved with pity towards so many  
 “ thousands of your Majesty’s subjects, daily in  
 “ danger of being lost for want of the food of  
 “ the word, and true discipline, we the com-  
 “ mons in this present parliament assembled, are  
 “ humbly bold to open the griefs, and to seek  
 “ the salving of the sores of our country, and to  
 “ beseech your Majesty, seeing the same is of  
 “ so great importance, if the parliament at this  
 “ time may not be so long continued, as that by  
 “ good and godly laws, provision may be made  
 “ for supply and reformation of these great and  
 “ grievous wants and abuses that, yet by such  
 “ other means, as to your Majesty’s wisdom shall  
 “ seem meet, a perfect redress of the same may  
 “ be

“ be had; by which the number of your Majesty’s faithful subjects will be increased, popery will be destroyed, the glory of God will be promoted, and your Majesty’s renown will be recommended to all posterity.”

This year the convocation of the clergy of the province of Canterbury assembled at St Paul’s, London, on the third day of April. When the Archbishop landed at Black-friars, he took horse, and rode to the church with a cavalcade of doctors, advocates, and civilians. The Bishop of London met him in the way, and the Dean and Prebendaries clothed in their surplices and habits, met him at the south door of the church. After the litany, and hymn of *veni creator*, were sung, Dr Whitgift preached a latin sermon to the assembly, taking for his text Acts xv. 6. *the apostles and elders came together, for to consider of this matter.* This Doctor, who had his eye upon preferment, harangued with great warmth on the institution of synods, the enemies of the church, Puritans and Papists, of the garments and ornaments used in the church, and of several other things which ought to be reformed in the present synod. After the sermon was ended, the Archbishop and Bishops repaired unto the Chapter-house, and after performing the usual business, the most reverend Archbishop called for the inferior clergy, and desired them to choose a prolocutor. The next session was held on the seventh of the same month, when the Archbishop in person said prayers in latin, and read the collects.

Then

Then Goodwin, Dean of Canterbury, and Goodman, Dean of Westminster, presented Dr Almer, Archdeacon of Lincoln, for prolocutor, who was received and confirmed by the Archbishop, who commanded all the company of the lower house, who had not subscribed the articles, to subscribe them.

The next session was held in St Mary's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, where (after Mr Latimer, Archdeacon, and Mr Parkyns, Subdean of Westminster, had made the usual protestation in behalf of the church and the rights of the clergy) the Archbishop began the session with the prayers, which he read himself. The principal business which was done this session, was the grant of a subsidy to the Queen, which passed *remine contradicente*. At this convocation a book of canons was composed and agreed to, by the Archbishop and Bishops for discipline; it was entituled, *liber quorundam canonum disciplina ecclesie Anglicane*, a book containing some canons of the discipline of the church of England. These canons were intended to regulate the duties of the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Commissaries, Officers, Church-wardens, the residence of preachers, plurality of livings, and the conduct of school-masters; to which is added, a form of excommunication to be denounced against adulterers in the congregation, and might be used against any other notorious sinner.

This book of discipline was printed this year, by one John Day, and according to Stripe is  
extant

extent in Bishop Sparrow's collections. These canons perhaps might be good enough in themselves, but received no advantage from many of the characters who composed them.

It is said that the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Ely and Winton, had the principal hand in forming this book of canons, but all the Bishops of both provinces signed it, either in their own persons or by proxy; but the members of the lower house did not subscribe it. The Archbishop endeavoured to obtain the Queen's permission for it, but was refused; yet his lordship thanked the Almighty for this book of articles and discipline, tho' he doubted whether it had the force of a law, unless it had been concluded upon in the synod, and ratified by royal assent. Parker was afraid of coming under a premunire; for as these articles, contained in that book, were neither proposed by the Queen, nor ratified by her authority, the whole clergy were liable to that writ if they should attempt to establish them. This shews the absurdity of all clerical jurisdiction in the church of England, independent upon the authority of the supreme magistrate: for the whole clergy assembled in convocation, without the advice and consent of the chief magistrate, can perform no acts of jurisdiction, which are binding upon the subjects.

The Reverend Mr Gilbert Alcock presented a petition to the convocation in behalf of the deprived ministers, praying their interest with the Queen, for a redress of grievances: He said if



a godly minister but omit the least ceremony, for conscience sake, he is immediately indicted, cast into prison, and his goods wasted and destroyed; he is kept from his wife and children, and at last excommunicated. We therefore beseech your fatherhoods to pity our case, and take from us these stumbling blocks. But the convocation were of another temper, than to take the least notice of such reasonable complaints; for instead of removing their burdens, they encreased them. The Bishops called in all their licences for preaching, and gave out new ones to such as were qualified for serving their purposes; the chief of those qualifications were to subscribe the articles, the book of common prayer, and the order for consecration of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and their containing nothing contrary to the word of God. They declare that all such preachers as do not subscribe, or who disturb people's minds with contrary doctrine, shall be excommunicated.

The complaints of the ministers under these hardships, reached the ears of the elector Palatine of the Rhine, who was pleased to order the learned Zanchy, professor of divinity, in the university of Heidelburgh, to write to the Queen of England in their behalf, beseeching her Majesty not to insist upon subscriptions, or upon wearing the habits, which gave such offence to great numbers of the clergy, and was like to make a schism in the church. The letter was inclosed to Bishop Grindal, but when he had read it he would not so much as deliver it to the  
Queen,

Queen, for fear of disobliging her Majesty, whose resolution was to put an end to all distinctions in the church, by pressing the act of uniformity. Instead therefore of easing the Puritans, they endeavoured to wreath the yoke of slavery faster about their necks : orders were sent to all churchwardens, not to suffer any to read, pray, preach, or minister the sacraments in any churches, chapels, or private places, without a new licence from the Queen, or the Archbishop, or Bishop of the diocese. This laid the non-conformists under the necessity of assembling in private, or of laying their ministry aside.

Tho' all the Bishops were obliged to conform to the measures of the court, yet some of them were so sensible of the want of discipline, and of preaching the word, that they allowed their clergy to enter into associations for the promoting of both. The following regulations for worshipping discipline were agreed upon by the ministers of Northampton, the mayor of the town, and the justices of the county, with the approbation of Dr Scrambler their Bishop. 1. That singing and playing of organs in the choir, shall be put down, and common prayer read in the body of the church, with a psalm before and after sermon. 2. That every Tuesday and Thursday, there shall be a lecture from nine to ten in the morning, in the chief church of the town, beginning with the confession in the book of common prayer, and ending with prayer and a confession of faith. 3. Every Sunday and holiday there shall be a sermon after

S 2

morn-

morning prayer, with a psalm before and after. 4. Service shall be ended in every parish church, by nine in the morning every Sunday and holiday, to the end that people may resort to the sermon in the chief church, except they have a sermon in their own. 5. None shall walk abroad, or sit idly in the streets in time of divine service. 6. The youth shall, every Sunday evening, be examined in a portion of Calvin's Catechism, which the reader shall expound for an hour. 7. There shall be a general communion once a quarter, in every parish church, with a sermon. 8. A fortnight before each communion, the minister, with the church-wardens, shall go from house to house, to take the names of the communicants, and examine into their lives; and the party that is not in charity with his neighbour, shall be put from the communion. 9. After the communion, the minister shall visit every house, to understand who have not received the communion and why. 10. Every communion-day each parish shall have two communions, one beginning at five in the morning, with a sermon of an hour, and ending at eight, for servants; the other from nine to twelve for masters and dames. 11. The manner of the communion shall be according to the order of the Queen's book, saving that the people being in their confession upon their knees, shall rise up from their pews, and so pass to the communion table, where they shall receive the sacrament in companies, and then return to their pews, the minister reading in the pulpit. 12. The communion table shall stand  
in

in the **body** of the church, according to the book, at the upper end of the middle aisle, having three ministers, one in the middle to deliver the bread, the other two at each end for the cup, the ministers often calling upon the people to remember the poor. The communion to end with a psalm.

13. Excessive ringing of bells on the Lord's day is prohibited; and carrying the bell before any corpse in the streets, and bidding prayers for the dead, which was used till within these two years, is restrained.

This was an association set up separate from the Queen's injunctions, and the canons of the church; and was what the Puritans were contending for: if the Queen and the Bishops would have granted this, they would have continued in the church. There were other endeavours for discipline, which the clergy, with the leave of the Bishop, attempted. They set up religious exercises among themselves, for interpreting some texts of scripture, which they spoke upon alternately, one after another:—this was called prophesying from the apostolical direction, “ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn and all be comforted.” They also conferred among themselves, teaching sound doctrine and a good conversation. The rules which they laid down, were the following: 1. That every minister, at his first allowance to be of this exercise, shall, by subscription, declare his consent in Christ's true religion with his brethren, and submit to the discipline and order of the same. 2. The names

names of all the members shall be written in a table; three of whom shall be concerned at each exercise; the first beginning and ending with prayer, shall explain his text, and confute foolish interpretations, and then make a practical reflection, but not dilate to a common place. 3. Those that speak after, may add any thing they think the other has omitted, tending to explain the text; but may not repeat what has been said, nor oppose their predecessor, unless he has spoken contrary to the scriptures. 4. The exercise to continue from nine to eleven; the first speaker to end in three quarters of an hour, the second and third not to exceed each one quarter of an hour; one of the moderators always to conclude. 5. After the exercise is over, and the auditors dismissed, the president shall call the learned brethren to him, to give his judgment of the performances, when it shall be lawful for any of the brethren to propose their objections against it in writing, which shall be answered before the next exercise. 6. If any break orders, the president shall command him, in the name of the eternal God, to be silent; and after the exercise he shall be reprimanded. 7. When the exercise is finished, the next speaker shall be appointed, and his text given him.

The confession of faith, which the members of these prophesyings signed at their admission, was to the following purpose.

That they believed the word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament, to be a perfect rule of faith and manners; that it ought

to be read and known by all people, and that the authority of it exceeds all authority ; not of the Pope only, but of the church also, and of councils, fathers, men, and angels.

They condemn as a tyrannous yoke, whatsoever men have set up of their own invention, to make articles of faith, and binding men's consciences by their laws and institutes: in sum, all those manners and fashions of serving God, which men have brought in without the authority of the word for the warrant thereof, though recommended by custom, by unwritten traditions, or any other names whatsoever; of which sort are, the Pope's supremacy, purgatory, transubstantiation, man's merits, free will, justification by works, praying in an unknown tongue, distinctions of meats, apparel, and days, and briefly all the ceremonies, and whole order of papistry, which they call the hierarchy; which are a devilish confussion, establish'd as it were in spite of God, and to the reproach of religion.

And we content ourselves (say they) with the simplicity of this pure word of God, and doctrine thereof; a summary of which is in the Apostles creed; resolving to try and examine, and also to judge all other doctrines whatsoever by this pure word, as by a certain rule and perfect touchstone. And to this word of God we humbly submit ourselves, and all our doings willingly, and ready to be judged, reformed, or further instructed thereby, in all points of religion.

These exercises were in general profitable and  
useful

useful to the clergy, and stirred up an emulation in them for the study of the scriptures, and rendered them more capable of teaching their people. Men of loose principles, censured this practice, and looked upon it as ridiculous; yet those ministers passed uncensured by the ecclesiastical commissioners, who had a special order from the Queen to enquire into all novelties: but when her Majesty was informed that they were nurseries of Puritanism, and tended to promote alterations in the government of the church, she quickly suppressed them, as will be seen in its proper place. Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, author of the apology for the church of England, died this year; He was born in Devonshire, and educated in Christ Church College, Oxon; he was a zealous promoter of the reformation, in the reign of King Edward; but he wanted fortitude to suffer for religion, and complied with some things against his conscience in the reign of Queen Mary; for which he asked pardon of God and his Church, among the exiles in Germany. He was a learned man, and a calvinist in his principles, but was for passive obedience to legal powers, in all things of an indifferent nature; this led him to comply with many things he did not approve in his heart, and shews that he was but a weak temporizing man. It is with him as it is with many others, his friends and enemies have perhaps said too much concerning him; for the spirit of party seldom keeps within bounds, in extolling or depreciating remarkable partizans. It seldom happens that any  
 man

man is so good as his friends represent him, or so bad as his enemies figure his character. There is some difficulty of keeping due bounds in panegyric, and it is as seldom done in drawing the character of an adversary.

Mr David Whitehead died this year: he had been chaplain to Ann Bullen, and was one of the four divines which were nominated by Cranmer to Irish Bishoprics. He refused preferment from principle, and spent his days privately, preaching occasionally where he found opportunity. Parker this year, was busy in persecuting the non-conformists, and chose for his assistance, the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, that he might the better cover his designs, and throw part of the scandal upon them: Grindal refused to join with him, and being at York, wisely found a pretence to decline having any share in those proceedings: Parker accused him with timorousness, and alleged, that he was afraid of a premunire; but this did not move Grindal, who was bent against such cruel and barbarous conduct. In the month of June, the Archbishop deprived several of the Puritan ministers of their livings, and proceeded with rigour towards all who would not conform to the vestments and robes, which had been practised in times of popery, which he was now fully bent upon establishing: this occasioned many to forsake their flocks, and retire into divers places where they might reside in safety, and enjoy the free liberty of conscience without molestation. Messrs Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker,

Vol. II. T Wyburn,



Wyburn, Goff, Percival, Deering, Field, Brown, Johnson, and several others were deprived at this time. Brown was the first author of those who are called Brownists, and from them those dissenters called Independents took their first rise in England. Beza wrote to the Bishops in favour of the Puritans, and advised them not to behave so cruelly; he desired the Lord Treasurer to endeavour a more perfect reformation. "For," says he, "I will not dissemble that not a few complaints of divers things wanting in the church; and when I say not a few, I do not mean that worse sort whom nothing pleases but what is perfect, and absolute in all respects; but I understand godly men, learned men, and some that are best affected to God's church, and lovers of their nation. I look upon the reformation of discipline, as of great importance to the peace and welfare of the nation, and the strengthening of the reformation; and therefore, there is nothing the Queen's Majesty and her council should sooner think of than this, however great and difficult the work might be, especially since the English nation affords so many divines of prudence, learning, and judgment in these affairs: if they, together with the Bishops, to whom indeed especially, but not alone, this care belongs, would deliberate hereupon, I doubt not but such things would follow, whence other nations would take example."

Thus far did Beza interest himself in behalf of his persecuted brethren in England. The Parliament

ment assembled on the eighth of May, and the Lord Keeper opened it with a speech, in which he recommended to both houses, in the Queen's name, To see that the laws relating to the discipline and ceremonies of the church were put in due execution; and that if any further laws were wanting, they should consider of them, and so (says his Lordship) *gladius gladium jurabit*, the civil sword will support the ecclesiastical, as before time has been used. But the parliament seeing the ill use the Queen and Bishops made of their spiritual power, instead of making new laws to enforce the ceremonies, ordered two bills to be brought in to regulate them; in one of which, the hardships that the Puritans complained of were redressed. The bill passed smoothly through the commons, and was referred to a select committee of both houses, which alarmed the Bishops, and gave the Queen such offence, that two days after, she sent to acquaint the commons by their speaker, that it was her pleasure, that no bills concerning religion should henceforth be received, unless the same should be first considered of and approved by the Bishops or Clergy in convocation; and further, her Majesty commanded them to deliver up the bills last read in the house, touching rites and ceremonies. This was a high strain of the prerogative, and a blow at the very root of the freedom of parliament. But the commons sent her Majesty the bills, with a servile request, that she would not conceive an ill opinion of the house, if she should not like them. Her Majesty sent them word, within a

T 2

day

day or two, that she utterly disliked the bills, and never returned them. This awakened a brave spirit of liberty among some of the members : many free speeches were made upon this occasion, and among others, Sir Peter Wentworth stood up and said, " That it grieved him to see how many ways the liberty of free speech in parliament had been infringed. Two things," says he " do great hurt among us, one is a rumour that ran about the house, when the bill about the rites of the church was depending ; take heed what you do, the Queen liketh not such a matter, she will be offended with them that prosecute it. The other is, that sometimes a message was brought to the house, either commanding or inhibiting our proceedings." He added, " that it was dangerous always to follow a Prince's mind, because the Prince might favour a cause prejudicial to the honour of God, and the good of the state. Her Majesty has forbid us to deal in any matter of religion, unless we first receive it from the Bishops. This was a doleful message ; there is then little hope of reformation. I have heard from old Parliament men, that the banishment of the Pope, and the reforming true religion, had its beginning from this house, but not from the Bishops : few laws for religion had their foundation from them ; and I surely think (before God I speak it) that the Bishops were the cause of that doleful message." But for this speech, Sir Peter was sent to the tower.

In the mean time, the late act of the thirteenth  
of

of Elizabeth, for subscribing the articles, was put in execution all over England, together with the Queen's injunctions; and according to Mr Strype's computation, about one hundred clergymen were deprived this year for refusing to subscribe. The University of Cambridge was a nest of Puritans; many of the graduates were disaffected to the discipline of the church, as particularly Mr Browning, Mr Brown of Trinity College, Mr Millain of Christ's, Mr Charke of Peter-house, Mr Deering of Christ's College, and several in St John's College, who being men of learning, had great numbers of followers; but Dr Whitgift, the Vice Chancellor, watched them narrowly, and kept them under. The Reverend Mr Charke in one of his sermons, at St Mary's, had said, that there ought to be a parity among the ministers in the church, and that the hierarchial orders of Archbishops, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, &c. was introduced into the church by Satan; for which he was summoned before the Vice Chancellor and heads of colleges, and refusing to recant, was expelled the university. Charke writ a handsome latin apology to Lord Burleigh their present Chancellor; in which he confesses it was his opinion, that the church of England might be brought nearer to the apostolic character or likeness; but that this must not be said either in the pulpit or desk, under the severest penalties: the Chancellor knowing him to be a good scholar, and in consideration that he had been hardly dealt with, interceded for him, but to no purpose. Mr Browning,

ing, Mr Deering, and others met with the like usage; Deering was a man of good learning, and made a chief figure in the university; he was also at St Paul's, London, and a most popular preacher; but being an enemy to the superior order of Bishops, he fell into the hands of the commissioners and was silenced. The Puritans finding it in vain to hope for a reformation from the Queen or Bishops, resolved for the future to apply to parliament, and stand by the constitution; for this purpose they made interest among the members, and compiled a treatise, setting forth their chief grievances in one view; it was drawn up by the Rev. Mr Field, Minister of Aldermay, London, assisted by Mr Welcox, and was revised by several of the brethren: it was intitled, An admonition to the parliament; with Beza's letter to the Earl of Leiceſter, and Gualter's to Bishop Parkhurſt, for reformation of the church diſcipline, annexed. It contains the platform of a church, the manner of electing miniſters, their ſeveral duties, and their equality in government. It then expoſes the corruptions of the hierarchy, and the proceedings of the Biſhops, with ſome ſeverity of language. When Mr Pearſon, the Archbiſhop's Chaplain, taxed the authors with this in priſon, Mr Field replied, this concerns me: the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament uſe ſuch vehemency; we have uſed gentle words too long, which have done no good; the wound grows deſperate and wants a corroſive; 'tis no time to blanch or ſew new pillars under men's elbows, but  
God

God knoweth we meant to touch no man's person, but their places and abuses. The admonition concludes with a petition to the houses, that a discipline more consonant to the word of God, and agreeing with the foreign reformed churches may be established by law. The authors themselves, viz. the Reverend Mr Field and Wilcox, presented it to the house, for which they were sent for into custody, and by the influence of the Bishops committed to Newgate, October the second; upon this, the book already printed, was suffered to go abroad, and had three or four editions within the compass of two years, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the Bishops to find out the press.

The imprisonment of the two ministers occasioned the drawing up a second admonition by Mr Cartwright, lately returned from beyond sea, with an humble petition to the two houses, for relief against the subscription required by the ecclesiastical Commissioners, which had no foundation in law, but was an act of sovereignty in the crown, and was against the peace of their consciences; many having lost their places and livings for not complying, they beseech their honours to take a view of the causes of their non-subscribing, that it might appear they were not disobedient to the church of God, or to their sovereign; and they most humbly intreat for the removal and abolishing of such corruptions and abuses in the church as withheld their compliance. The matters (say they) contained in the admonition, how true soever they be, have found small favour; the persons  
that

that are thought to have made it, are laid up in no worse prison than Newgate; the men that set upon them, no worse than Bishops; the name that goeth of them is no better than rebels, and great words there are that their danger will yet prove greater: well, whatsoever is done or said against them, that is not the matter; but the equity of the cause, that is the matter; and yet this I will say, that the state sheweth not itself upright, if it suffers them to be molested for that which was spoken only by way of admonition to the parliament, which was to consider of it, and receive or reject it, without further matters to the authors, except it contained some wilful maintenance of treason or rebellion, which it cannot be proved to do. Two other pamphlets were published on this occasion, one entitled an exhortation to the Bishops, to deal brotherly with their brethren; the other an exhortation to the Bishops and clergy, to answer a little book that was published last parliament; and an exhortation to other brethren to judge of it by God's word, until they saw it answered.

The prisoners themselves writ an elegant latin apology to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in which they confess their writing the admonition, but that they attempted not to change or correct any thing in the hierarchy of themselves, but referred all to the parliament, hoping by this means all differences might be composed in a legal way, and the corruptions which the most learned foreign divines complained of, might be removed to the  
pre-

preventing of any schism or separation in the church. But the Treasurer had not courage to intermeddle with an affair which might embroil him with the Queen, or at least with her ecclesiastical Commissioners, tho' it was well enough known he had a good will to the cause : but the Commissioners not content with the severity of the law, sported themselves in an arbitrary manner, with the miseries of their fellow creatures, and detained them in prison beyond the time limited by the statute, as appears by their humble supplication, to the Earl of Leicester, representing

“ that they had been condemned according  
 “ to the act of uniformity, to a year's im-  
 “ prisonment, which they had now suffered  
 “ patiently in the common gaol of Newgate, be-  
 “ sides four months close imprisonment before  
 “ their conviction, which they apprehended to be  
 “ contrary to law; that by this means they, and  
 “ their poor wives and children, were utterly im-  
 “ poverished; their health very much impaired by  
 “ the unwholsome favour of the place, and the  
 “ cold weather, and that they were yet like to  
 “ suffer greater extremities : they therefore hum-  
 “ bly beseech his Lordship for the tender mer-  
 “ cies of God, and in consideration of their poor  
 “ wives and children, to be a means to the most  
 “ honourable privy council that they may be en-  
 “ larged; or if that could not be obtained that  
 “ they might be removed to a more wholesome  
 “ prison.” They sent a petition of the same na-  
 “ ture to the Lords of the council; and a third



was sent in the names of their wives and children. They also writ a confession of their faith, dated from Newgate, December four, one thousand five hundred and seventy-two, with a preface, in which they complain of the reproaches and calumnies of their adversaries : because (say they) we would have Bishops unlorded, accordingly to God's word, therefore 'tis said, we seek the overthrow of civil magistrates : because we say, all Bishops and ministers are equal, and therefore may not exercise sovereignty over one another, therefore they say, when we have brought this in among the Bishops, we shall be for levelling the nobility of the land : because we find fault with the regimen of the church as drawn from the Pope, therefore they say, we design the ruin of the state : because we say, the ministry must not be a bare reading ministry, but that every minister must be learned, able to preach, to confute gainsayers, to comfort, to rebuke, and to do all the duties of a shepherd, a watchman, a steward, therefore they bear the world in hand that we condemn the reading of the holy scriptures in churches, because we are afraid of joining with the church, in all her rites and ceremonies ; therefore we are branded with the odious names of Donatists, Anabaptists, Arians, Hincfeldians, Puritans, &c. The confession itself is orthodox, according to the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and must give a general satisfaction to them that read it ; 'tis written by the authors of the first admonition to the parliament, to testify their persuasion

**tion** in the faith, against the uncharitable surmises of Dr Whitgift, utter'd in his answer to their admonition, in defence both of themselves and their fautors, and is subscribed Johannes Field. I have the whole before me, but shall only transcribe a few passages relating to the present controversy. We hold and believe, that we ought to keep inviolably that kind of government that is left us in the gospel : that the office of a pastor is to preach the word, and administer the sacraments; and therefore that bare readers, or single service sayers, are no more fit for pastors, than women or children that can read well; yet we deny not the reading of the scriptures in all congregations; but this is not a part of the minister's office. We think it unlawful to withdraw from a church where the word is truly preached, the sacraments sincerely minister'd, and true ecclesiastical discipline exercised. We are not for an unspotted church on earth, and therefore, tho' the church of England has many faults, we would not willingly withdraw from it; and yet we believe that God's children, when they are threatened with persecution, and the church doors are shut against them, may draw themselves into private assemblies, separating from cursed idolatry, and pestilent popery, though the laws of Princes are against it; and whosoever refuseth to be subject to these congregations separating themselves, resisteth the ordinance of God. We affirm that the church of God is a company or congregation of the faithful, called and gathered out of the world, by the

preaching of the gospel, united in the true faith, and resolving to form their lives, government, order and ceremonies, according to the word of God. We hold that there ought to be joined to the pastors of the church, elders and deacons, for the bridling of vices, and providing for the poor; that no pastor ought to usurp dominion over another; nor no church exercise lordship or rule over another. We believe that the pastor should be chosen by the congregation, and being chosen, should be confirmed in his vocation by the elders, with public prayer and imposition of hands. Concerning ceremonies, we hold that they ought to be few, and such as have no shew of evil, but manifestly tend to decency and good order: we reject therefore all the popish ceremonies and apparel.—We hold that the churches may differ in order and ceremonies, and yet keep the unity of the faith; and therefore we condemn not other churches that have ceremonies different from ours.—Concerning public worship, we hold that there ought to be places appointed for this purpose, and that there may be a prescript form of prayer and service in the known tongue, because all have not the gift of prayer, but we would not have it patched out of the Pope's portuises; but be the form of prayer never so good, we affirm that ministers may not think themselves discharged when they have said it over; for they are not sent to say service, but to preach deliverance through Christ: preaching therefore must not be thrust out of doors for reading, neither ought the minister so to be tied to a prescript

script form, as that at all times he must be bound of necessity to use it; for who can draw a form of prayer, necessary for all times, and fit for all congregations. We deny not, but it is well that there be various manners of prayers, but we must take heed that they be not long and tedious; wherefore preaching, as it is the chief part of a minister's office, so all other things must give place to it. Concerning singing of psalms, we allow of the people's joining with one voice in a plain tune, but not of tossing the psalms from one side to the other, with the intermingling of organs. Touching holidays we say, that religion is tied to no time; nor is one day more holy than another; but because time must be had to hear the word of God, and to administer the holy sacraments, therefore we keep the Lord's day as we were commanded, but without all Jewish superstition—we think that those feast days of Christ, as of his birth, circumcision, passover, resurrection, and ascension, &c. may by christian liberty be kept, because they are only devoted to Christ, to whom all days and times belong; but days dedicated to saints, with fasts on their eves, we utterly dislike, though we approve of the reverend memory of the saints, as examples to be propounded to the people in sermons; and of public and private fasts, as the circumstances of nations or private persons require.

The confession concludes with an article concerning the office of the civil magistrates. We hold that christians may bear office; that magistrates

trates may put offenders to death lawfully; that they may wage war, and require a lawful oath of the subject; that subjects are bound to obey all their just and lawful commands; to pray for them, to give them all honour, to call them by their lawful titles, and to be ready with their bodies and goods, lives, and all that they have, to serve them with bodily service; yea, all these things we must do though they be infidels, and obtain their dominion, either by inheritance, by election, by conquest, or otherwise; on the other hand, 'tis the magistrates duty to provide for the public peace and quiet of their subjects; and to set forth Christ's pure religion, by advancing the preaching of the gospel, and rooting out all superstition and idolatry. The authors of this confession lay in prison a considerable time; for though the inhabitants of Aldermary, London, presented two supplications for the enlargement of their valuable pastor, and learned and faithful preacher, as they called Mr Field; and though some great friends interceded for them, they could not obtain their release. The Archbishop sent his chaplain to confer with them in prison, after they had been there three months, for which they were thankful. The conference began with a suitable prayer, which Mr Field made, and was carried on with such decency as moved the chaplain's compassion; but nothing would prevail with the inexorable Commissioners to release them, till they had suffered the extremity of the law, and paid their fees, though the keeper gave it under

under his hand, that they were so poor as not to have money to pay for their lodgings and victuals. To return to the admonition, which consisted of twenty-three chapters, under the following titles:

Chap. 1. Whether Christ forbiddeth rule or superiority to ministers. 2. Of the authority of the church, in things indifferent. 3. Of the election of ministers. 4. Of ministers having no pastoral charge; and of ceremonies used in ordering ministers. 5. Of the residence of the pastors. 6. Of ministers that cannot preach, and of licences to preach. 7. Of the apparel of ministers. 8. Of Archbishops, Metropolitans, Bishops, Archdeacons, &c. 9. Of the communion book. 10. Of holidays. 11. What kind of preaching is most effectual. 12. Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments. 13. Of reading the scriptures. 14. of ministering and preaching by deacons. 15. Of matters touching the communion. 16. Of matters touching baptism. 17. Of seniors, or government by elders. 18. Of certain matters concerning discipline of the church. 19. Of deacons and widows. 20. Of the authority of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters. 21. Of subscribing the communion book. 22. Of cathedral churches. 23. Of the civil offices of ecclesiastical persons. These were the chief heads of complaint, which the Puritans having laid before the world, the Bishops thought themselves obliged to answer. Dr John Whitgift, a master of Trinity College, and Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, was ap-

appointed to this work, which he performed with great labour and study, and dedicated it to the church of England. His method was unexceptionable; the whole text of the admonition being set down in paragraphs, and under each paragraph the doctors answer: before it was printed it was revised and corrected by Archbishop Parker, Dr Copper, Bishop of Lincoln, and Pern, Bishop of Ely; so that in this book (says Mr Strype) may be seen, all the arguments for and against the hierarchy, drawn to the best advantage. Dr Whitgift's book was answered by Mr Cartwright, whose performance was called a master-piece in its kind, and had the approbation of great numbers in the University of Cambridge, as well as foreign divines. Whitgift replied again to Cartwright, and had the thanks of the Bishops and of the Queen, who, as a reward for his excellent and learned pains, made him dean of Lincoln; while Cartwright, to avoid the rigour of the commissioners, was forced to abscond in friends houses, and at length retire into banishment.

But it was impossible for these divines to settle the controversy, because they were not agreed upon one and the same standard, or rule of judgment: Mr Cartwright maintained, that the holy scriptures were not only a standard of doctrine, but of discipline and government; and that the church of Christ, in all ages, was to be regulated by them: he was therefore for consulting his bible only, and for reducing all things as near as possible, to the apostolical standard. Dr Whitgift

went

went upon a different principle, and maintained, that though the holy scriptures were a perfect rule of faith, they were not designed as a standard of church discipline or government; but that this was changeable, and might be accommodated to the civil government we live under: that the apostolical government was adapted to the church in its infancy, and under persecution, but was to be enlarged and altered as the church grew to maturity, and had the civil magistrate on its side. The doctor therefore, instead of reducing the external policy of the church to scripture, takes into his standard the four first centuries after Christ; and those customs that he can trace up thither, he thinks proper to be retained, because the church was then in its mature state, and not yet under the power of Antichrist. The reader will judge of these principles for himself. One is ready to think, that the nearer we can come to the apostolical practice the better; and the less our religion is incumbered with rites and ceremonies of later invention, the more it must resemble the simplicity that is in Christ. If our blessed Saviour had designed that his worship should be set off with pomp and grandeur, and a multitude of ceremonies, he would have told us so, and probably have settled them, as he did for the church of the Jews; but nothing of this appearing, men should be cautious of inserting the commandments or traditions of men into the religion of Christ, lest they cast a reflection upon his kingly office.



The dispute between Whitgift and Cartwright, was managed with some sharpness; the latter thought he had reason to complain of the hardships himself and his brethren suffered; and Whitgift having the government on his side, thought he stood upon higher ground, and might assume a superior air. When Cartwright and his friends pleaded for indulgence, because they were brethren, the doctor replies, " what signifies their being brethren; Anabaptists, Arians, and other Hereticks, would be accounted brethren; their haughty spirits will not suffer them to see their error; they deserve as great punishment as Papists, because both conspire against the church: if they are shut up in Newgate, 'tis a neat reward for their disorderly doings, for ignorance may not excuse libels against a private man, much less when they slander the whole church." How would the doctor have liked this language in the mouth of a papist, sixteen years before? but this has been the method of warm and zealous disputants; the knots they cannot untie with their fingers, they would cut asunder with the sword. Thus Dr Whitgift routed his adversary; he had already deprived him of his professor's chair, and of his degree of doctor of divinity, and being now Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, he got him expelled the University upon this pretence: Mr Cartwright being senior fellow of his College, was only in deacon's orders; the doctor being informed of this, and that the statute (requiring such to take upon them the order of priesthood) might be

be interpreted priest's orders, concluded he was perjured ; upon which he summoned the heads of colleges together and declared, that Mr Cartwright had broken his oath, and without any further admonition, pushed his interest among the masters, to rid the college of a man whose popularity was too great for his ambition, insomuch that he declared he could not establish order in the university, while a person of his principles was among them. After this he wrote to the Archbishop, September the twenty-first, one thousand five hundred and seventy-two, and begged his Grace to watch at court, that Cartwright might get no advantage against him, for (says he) he is flatly perjured, and it is God's just judgment that he should be so punished, for not being a full minister. A pitiful triumph !

The Queen also and her Commissioners brandished their swords against Cartwright and his followers : her Majesty by proclamation called in the admonition, commanding all her subjects, that had any in their possession, to bring them to the Bishop of the diocese, and not to sell them, upon pain of imprisonment ; upon which Mr Stroud, the publisher, brought in thirty-four, and his wife burnt the rest that were unfold : this Mr Stroud was the suspended minister at Canbrook, an excellent preacher, and universally beloved : but being reduced to poverty, he was forced to condescend to the low offices of correcting the press, and of publishing books for a livelyhood. When he appeared before the Bishop of London

upon this occasion, his Lordship reproached him for laying down the ministry, though Parker had actually deprived him, and forbid him to preach six years before.

The Bishops were no less careful to crush the favourers of the admonition; for when Mr Wake, of Christ Church, had declared in favour of it, in a sermon at St Paul's Cross, the Bishop of London sent for him next morning into custody; but he made his escape. Mr Crick, Chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, having also commended the book in a sermon at the same place, the Archbishop sent a special messenger to apprehend him; and though he escaped for the present, he afterwards fell into the hands of the commissioners and was deprived: the like misfortune befel Doctor Aldrich, an eminent divine, and dignitary of the church, with many others; notwithstanding which, Doctor Sandys, Bishop of London, in his letter to the Treasurer, calls for further help: "The city (says he) will never be quiet, till these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as Gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cartwright, and others, be far removed from the city; the people resort to them, as in popery they were wont to run on pilgrimages; if these idols, who are honoured as saints, were removed from hence, their honour would fall into the dust, and they would be taken for blocks as they are: a sharp letter from her Majesty would cut the courage of these men. Good, my Lord, for the love you bear to the church

" of

“ of Christ, resist the tumultuous enterprizes of these new-fangled fellows.” These were the weapons with which the Doctor’s answer to the admonition were enforced, so that we may fairly conclude with Fuller the Historian, “ That if Cartwright had the better of his adversary in learning, Whitgift had more power to back his arguments; and by this he not only kept the field, but gained the victory.”

On the other hand, it is certain, vast numbers of the clergy both in London and the two Universities, had a high opinion of Cartwright’s writing; he had many admirers, and if we may believe his adversaries, wanted not for presents and gratuities; many hands were procured in approbation and commendation of his reply to Whitgift; and some said, they would defend it to death. In short, except those who had already conformed, they made no converts among the Puritans, but rather confirmed them in their former sentiments.

To pursue this controversy to the end, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-three, Doctor Whitgift published his defence against Cartwright’s reply; in which he states the difference between them thus: the question is not whether many things mentioned in your platform of discipline were fitly used in the apostles time, or may now be well used in sundry reformed churches, this is not denied; but whether, when there is settled order in doctrine and government, established by law, it may stand with godly and christian wisdom to attempt so great an alteration

as this platform must needs bring in, with disobedience to the Prince and laws, and unquietness of the church, and offence of many consciences. If this were the whole question, surely it might stand with the wisdom of the legislature in settled times, to make some concessions in favour of pious and devout men; nor can it be inconsistent with godly and christian wisdom, for subjects to attempt it by lawful and peaceable methods.

Two years after (one thousand five hundred and seventy-five) Mr Cartwright published a second reply to Whitgift's defence; it consisted of two parts: the first was intitled, The second reply of F. C. against Doctor Whitgift's second answer, touching the church discipline; with these two sentences of scripture in the title page, *For Zion's sake I will not hold my tongue, for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, till the righteousness thereof break forth as the light, &c. ye are the Lord's remembrancers; keep not silence.* Isa. lxi. 1, 6, 7. 'Tis dedicated to the church of England, and all that love the truth in it: in his preface he answers personal matters between the doctor and himself; he remembers him of his illegally depriving him of his fellowship, and pronouncing him perjured. He says, he never opened his lips for the divinity chair, as he had falsely charged him; that he had never desired the degree of a doctor, but by the advice of more than a dozen learned ministers, who considering his office of divinity reader, thought

thought he ought to assume the title. He added, that he never refused a private conference with him (Whitgift), but that he offered it, and the other refused it, saying, he was incorrigible; indeed he did refuse private conference by writing, having had experience of his adversary's unfaithfulness; and because he thought that the doctrine he had taught openly should be defended openly. Whitgift charged him, that after he was expelled the college, he went up and down doing no good, but living at other men's tables. How ungenerous was this! after the Doctor had taken away his adversary's bread, and stopt his mouth, that he might not preach, to reproach him with doing no good, and being beholden to his friends for a dinner: Cartwright owned, that he was poor; that he had no wife, nor house of his own; and that it was with small delight that he lived upon his friends, but that he still did what little good he could, in instructing their children. Whitgift charged his adversary further, with want of learning, though he had filled the divinity chair with vast reputation, and had been stiled by Beza, Sol, the very sun of England: he taxes him with making extracts from other men's notes, and that he had scarce read one of the ancient authors he had alledg'd; to which Cartwright modestly replied, that as to great reading he would let it pass, for if Whitgift had read all the fathers, and he scarce one, it would easily appear to the learned world by their writings;

ings; but that it was sufficiently known, that he had hunted him with more hounds than one.

The strength of his reply lies in reducing the policy of the church as near as possible to the standard of scripture; for when Doctor Whitgift alledged some of the fathers of the fourth and fifth century was on his side, Cartwright replied, "That  
 "for as much as the fathers have erred, and  
 "that corruptions crept early into the church,  
 "therefore they ought to have no further credit  
 "than their authority is warranted by the word  
 "of God and good reason; to press their bare  
 "authority without relation to this, is to bring  
 "an intolerable tyranny into the church of  
 "God."

The second part of Cartwright's reply, was not published till two years afterwards, when he was fled out of the kingdom; it is intitled, The rest of the second reply of Thomas Cartwright, against Master Doctor Whitgift's answer, touching the church discipline, imprinted in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-seven: in which he shews, that church government, by an eldership, is by divine appointment, and of perpetual obligation. He then considers the defects of the church of England, and treats of the power of the civil Magistrates in ecclesiastical matters; of ecclesiastical persons bearing civil offices; and of the habits. He apologizes for going through with the controversy at such a distance of time, but he thought it of importance, and that it need not be ashamed of

of the light. Speaking of his own poverty, disgrace and banishment, for appearing in this cause, he says, it were an intolerable delicacy, if he could not give up a little ease and commodity, for that whereunto his life was due, if it had been asked; or that he should grudge to dwell in another corner of the world for that cause, for which he ought to be ready altogether, to depart out of it. But he was sensible he strove against the stream, and that his work might be thought unseasonable, his adversary being now advanced so much above him; for this year Whitgift was made a Bishop, when poor Cartwright was little better than a wandering beggar.

Thus ended the controversy between these two champions; so that Fuller, Heylen, and Collier, must be mistaken, when they say, Whitgift kept the field, and carried of a complete victory, when Cartwright had certainly the last word; but whoever had the better of the argument, Whitgift got most by it; and when he was advanced to the pinnacle of church-preferment, acted an ungenerous part towards his adversary for many years, persecuting him with continual vexations and imprisonments, and pointing all his church artillery against him, not suffering him so much as to defend the common cause of christianity against the Papists, when he was called to it; but at length being wearied out with the importunities of great men, or growing more temperate in his old age, he suffered him to govern a small hospital in Warwick (given him by the Earl



of Leicester) where this great and good man's grey hairs came down with sorrow to the grave. The Queen was now so provoked at the non-conformists, that she shewed every mark of displeasure against them. The Anabaptists began at this time to encrease, and their enemies imputed several monstrous errors to them, which occasioned a severe persecution against them; this plainly declared the temper of the court, and the real intention of the Bishops. It was not so much because they were Anabaptists that they were persecuted, as because they were non-conformists: this was a crime fit to ruin any person in these times, and more to be dreaded than every other sort of heresy. The Puritans had provoked the Bishops and the court with pamphlets, which they secretly dispensed through the city of London, for their own vindication, in which many severe things were said against the clergy; this offended Parker to the last degree, and made him employ all his interest to find out the authors and printers of these seditious libels as they were called. All his efforts were vain, for the Puritans had private presses which they employed secretly, and thereby harrassed their adversaries continually. Parker complained of this to the Lord Treasurer, but no notice was taken of his complaint. This year an association was formed at Wandsworth, a village within four miles of London, which was the first Presbyterian church in England. The chiefs of this presbytery were Mr Field of Wandsworth, Mr Smith of Micham, Mr Crane of

of Roehampton, Mess. Wilcox, Standen, Jackson, Bonham, Saintloe and Edmonds. Several laymen of good character, afterwards joined with them, and likewise the following divines, Mr Travers, Charke, Barber, Gardiner, Crook, Egerton; they then elected elders, and described their offices in a register, which is intitled, The orders of Wandsworth. They endeavoured to conceal their proceedings with the utmost care, but the Bishop discovered their meetings and informed the high commission, upon which the Queen issued a proclamation for putting the act of uniformity in execution; but the Commissioners though they knew of the presbytery, they were not able to discover the members, nor to hinder others of the same kind from forming in other parts of the country. Associations of this sort became more frequent, and the presbyterian Puritans soon grew to a considerable body, which more and more alarmed the Bishops, and put the patrons of the hierarchy in great fear. While Elizabeth and the Bishops were persecuting the Puritans, the Roman Catholics were busy in playing their game; they seduced the people from the established religion by every art they were masters of; and endeavoured to render the Queen contemptible in the eyes of her subjects. When the bull from Rome against Elizabeth was published, they pulled off the mask and deserted the public worship in great numbers; and set up the mass. Some, the better to cover the design, remained in the church, and kept their stations on purpose to betray her in-

terests. Many of the ministers who were in the church were papists, who subscribed the articles, and observed all the orders; and at the same time, that they appeared to conform to the established religion, were persuading the people to return to Rome, their mother church. In Yorkshire they went publicly to mass, and the numbers of this sort were so great, that they held the protestants in awe. In London they increased prodigiously; but notwithstanding the danger the protestant religion was in from such avowed enemies, the Queen would not suffer them to be restrained; for when some of them were confined, she ordered them to be immediately set at liberty. There was now little religion among churchmen, and scarcely the least appearance thereof at court. It might have been expected that at a time when religion was in so much danger from its open enemies, that those who pretended to be its real friends, would have united in supporting it, and laid aside their particular animosities in the time of common danger; but the clergy were so offended at the non-conformists, that nothing except their ruin could satisfy them. Vice and every kind of immorality were suffered to pass unregarded, while men who could not debauch their consciences by substituting human traditions in place of divine revelation, were hunted down like wild beasts, and exposed to every hardship the tyranny of their foes could devise.

The massacre at Paris happened this year, in the twenty-fourth of August being Bartholomew day,

day, when great numbers of protestants were invited to Paris on pretence of doing honour to the King of Navarre's marriage to the King's sister. Ten thousand were massacred in one night at Paris, and twenty thousand more in other parts of the kingdom, in a few weeks after, by his Majesty's special commission. Persons of every rank were murdered without distinction, Lords, Gentlemen, Justices, Lawyers, Scholars, Physicians, and the lowest of the people; they spared neither age nor sex; Women, Maids, Children in the cradle, and Infants in their mothers bellies were massacred. The tidings of this horrid massacre ought to have alarmed the protestants in England, and put them upon their guard; but instead of uniting among themselves for their common safety, they continued to persecute one another with unrelenting fury. All that was done on this alarming occasion, was a few preparations to put the coasts in some posture of defence.

The controversy between the Puritans and the established clergy still went on, 1573. but the contest was unequal; the Bishops had the Queen and the high Commission on their side, who, as soon as they perceived, the Puritans like to have the better of the argument, restrained the liberty of the press, and executed the penal laws against them. The act of uniformity was ready on all occasions to be put in execution, which was rigorously executed in many instances. The Queen issued a proclamation this year, declaring

claring that it was her pleasure that the act of  
 uniformity should be put in execution, and the  
 Lords of the council sent letters to the Bishops  
 to enforce the proclamation. Several things con-  
 tributed to heighten the persecution against the  
 non-conformists; their arguments were ill to an-  
 swer, their satire was keen, and their language  
 often severe. The first distressed the Bishops  
 to answer, and the latter provoked both them and  
 the court. To this may be added a circumstance  
 which happened at this time, which was improved  
 against the whole body of dissenters from the  
 establishment. A mad man, whose name was  
 Birchet, of the middle temple, who called him-  
 self a Puritan, in one of his mad fits wounded  
 one Hawkins, an officer of the Queen's navy,  
 riding through the Strand, whom he said he  
 took for Hatton, captain of the guard, and one  
 of the privy chamber; he affirmed that the spirit  
 of the Lord directed him to kill Hawkins, whom  
 he took to be Hatton, because he was an enemy  
 to the word of God, and a maintainer of pa-  
 pistry. He persisted in his opinion without the  
 smallest signs of repentance, till they threatened to  
 burn him for an heretic, and then he recanted.  
 There were many disputes concerning how he  
 should be put to death, but he put an end to  
 the controversy by another action equally mad  
 and barbarous. He slew his keeper with a blow  
 on the hinder part of the head, and so was  
 condemned for murder, tho' he was quite mad  
 and furious, and ought for the first action to have  
 been

been put into a mad-house. This action of Birchet was imputed to all the Puritans, though it never appeared that any of that denomination were concerned with him. It was unreasonable to slander a number of respectable characters on account of a mad person, who was deprived of the use of his reason, and cruel to persecute them for what it was not in their power to prevent; but the Queen embraced every opportunity to distress the dissenters whom she hated more than she did the papists.

The Commissioners being urged by the Queen's authority, sent letters to the Bishops, exhorting them to command all their ecclesiastical officers to charge their quest-men to procure a list of all the names of non-conformists in their parishes, before the first week of Lent. Parker was very zealous in this affair; this was work suited to his soul, for merely was none of the infirmities of his nature; in works of cruelty he acted with great spirit, and never appeared so much in character as in the articles of persecution and cruelty. The dissenters were now deprived both of the liberty of preaching and printing; their next resource was to challenge their adversaries to a public disputation; this was a privilege which the papists allowed the protestants in the former reigns; and had been granted to the papists at Elizabeth's accession to the throne. But the Dissenters had to do with one who was more than a Papist; Elizabeth was also a profound politician, and knew that the only method to overcome  
truth

truth was to keep it concealed; for this reason she would not suffer the established religion as she called it, to be called in question by a public disputation. She found out a short method and more agreeable to her purposes; she called the disputants before the ecclesiastical commission, to answer to several articles exhibited against them, and among others, whether the common prayer book is every part of it grounded upon the scripture? This was intended to ensnare them, and to prevent all disputations; and because they did not answer to the satisfaction of that court, they were all of them deprived, and some of them sent to Newgate, from whence they had been but lately released. In conclusion they were threatened with banishment if they did not comply.

Mr Cartwright was summoned among the rest, but wisely concealed himself; upon which a proclamation was issued to apprehend him; but notwithstanding thereof, he still lay concealed till he found an opportunity to leave the kingdom. Mr Dearing, lecturer of St Paul's, was likewise suspended for some words he had uttered against the hierarchy in private conversation, and was obliged to make his peace by subscribing three points; namely, to the supremacy—the thirty-nine articles—the book of common prayer; and that the sacraments are rightly administered in the church of England. He was examined upon several other articles, which were the common topics of those times, and which it is needless to repeat. Dearing appealed from the Commissioners to the council

cil who restored him, which was a great mortification to the Archbishop. Mr. Deering appears to have been a peaceable discreet man, endowed with a good share of learning and common sense: He wrote a letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, on this occasion, where he shews the difference between the primitive Bishops, and those who then resided in the church of England, in the following particulars. 1. Bishops and Ministers then were in one degree but now (says he) they are different. 2. There were then many Bishops in one town, now there is but one in a whole country. 3. No Bishop's authority was in more than in one city, now it is in many shires. 4. Bishops then used no bodily punishments, now they fine and imprison. 5. The primitive Bishops could not excommunicate or absolve, merely by their own authority, now they may. 6. Then, without consent of presbyters, they could make no ministers, now they do. 7. They could confirm no children in other parishes; they do it now in many shires. 8. They had then but one living, now they have many. 9. They had neither officials, commissaries nor chancellors, now they have. 10. They dealt in no civil government, by any established authority, now they do. 11. They had no right to alienate any parsonage, or let it in lease, now they have. 12. Then they had a church where they served the cure as those we call parish priests, though they were Metropolitans or Archbishops, now they are different. This letter was a crime, which Parker could never forgive, and



for this reason he never left him till he had him silenced and deprived.

This year were deprived Messrs. Arthur Wake, parson of Great Willing, Eusebins Paget, parson of Ould, Thurston Mosley, parson of Hardington, George Gildart, parson of Collingtrowge, and William Dawson, parson of Weston Favel, all in the diocese of Peterborough; of which Dr Scrambler was Bishop. This was a short method of getting clear of such ministers as were not agreeable to the humour of the Bishops, and the measures of the court. There was no more to do but to prepare interrogatories, which they were sure they would not answer, or such questions as they knew they would answer in such a manner as to give them an occasion to accuse them, and then the process was soon over, deprivation followed of course, according to the laws and customs of the times. These ministers were not deprived for any errors in doctrine, but for refusing to subscribe two forms which the commissioners had desired; the one was called *forma promissionis*; the other *forma objuratæ*. In the first they swore and subscribed to use the service book, and the public form of administration of the sacraments, and no other; in the latter, they subscribed and protested upon oath, that the book of consecration of Bishops, set forth in the reign of Edward the sixth, and confirmed by parliament, contained all things necessary for such consecration and ordering, having nothing in it that is superfluous or ungodly according to their judgment.

most. These ministers were willing to use the prayer book till the meeting of the parliament, but judged it sinful to swear the oath, or to subscribe that they would never use any other. They therefore appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but their appeal was rejected. In the place of these ministers, which were now deprived, several foreigners succeeded, who could hardly read so as to be understood; the people were left uninstructed, and instead of having sermons every sabbath day, they had but one in a quarter of an year, and often not so frequent. Petitions were sent to the Bishops, signed by the people of the parishes, requesting to have their former ministers restored, but to no purpose: the Bishops were not so gracious as to hear the cries of people who enquired after knowledge; they knew that ignorance was fitter for their purpose, and too much instruction would but open the eyes of the people to see their absurdities. The laity were next called to an account; many of them were not disposed to attend the ministry of these ignorant creatures, which the Bishops thrust in upon them, and had an aversion at the cruelty which they saw inflicted upon their former pastors. They looked upon these intruders with the greatest abhorrence, as invaders of other men's rights, and therefore could not in conscience attend their ministry. A subscription was now provided for transgressors of this sort. It was the same in substance with what was imposed upon their ministers, and shall not be repeated. The officers of the spiritual

courts had now sufficient employment; they sent out their spies every where to enquire who came to church, and who did not. The gaolers and keepers of prisons were ordered to take notice of all who came to visit their prisoners, or to give them relief, and, upon notice given, spies were appointed to bring them into trouble. The advocates for the proceedings of these times have aggravated the behaviour of these people, that they behaved rudely to the Bishops, and spoke uncivilly. Perhaps they did so, but those who interfere with what does not belong to them, could not expect civil usage. The lordly behaviour of these dignified parsons was not easy to be born, and it is highly probable that the ill usage which they gave these plain honest people, might provoke them to forget the dignity of those lawn-sleeved Ambassadors of Jesus Christ, and cause them to speak unadvisedly with their tongues. There is an instance of one who appears to have had full as much delicacy in his behaviour, as the lord chief justice who examined him. One whose name was White, was brought before the lord chief justice; the master of the rolls; the master of the requests; Mr Gerard, the Dean of Westminster; the Sheriff of London, and the clerk of the peace. The chief justice examined him in the following manner by the assistance of the rest of his brethren and coadjutors.

Lord Chief Justice. Who is this? White. White  
 { an't please your honour. L. C. J. White as black  
 as the devil. White. Not so my lord; one of  
 the

the Lord's children. L. C. J. Why will you not come to your parish church? White. My lord, I did use to frequent my parish church before my troubles, and procured several godly men to preach there, as well as in other places of preaching and prayer; and since my troubles I have not frequented any private assemblies, but as I have had leave and liberty, have gone to my parish church; and therefore those who have presented me, have done it out of malice; for if any of these things can be proved against me simply, or that I hold all things in common, your lordship may dismiss me from hence to the gallows. Mr Gerard. You have not usually frequented your parish church. White. I allow I have more used other places where I was better edified. Mr Gerard. Then your presentment is in part true. White. Not and please you, for I am presented for not coming at all to my parish church. Gerard. Will you then come to prayers when there is not sermon? White. I would avoid those things which give offence to me and others, and disturb the peace of the church; however I crave the liberty of a subject, and if I do not frequent publicly, both preaching, prayers, and sacraments, deal with me accordingly. Dean of Westminster. What fault find you in the common prayer? White. Let them answer that to whom it pertains, for being in prison almost a year about these matters, I was upon a statute relating to that book indicted, and before I came to liberty almost out-lawed, as your worship Mr Gerard knows

knows. Mast. of Requests. What scripture have you to ground your conscience against these garments? White. The whole scriptures are for destroying idolatry, and every thing that belongs to it. Mast. Req. These things never served to idolatry. White. Though they are the same which heretofore were used to that purpose. Mast. Req. Where is the place where these are forbidden? White. In Deuteronomy and other places, the Israelites not only are commanded to destroy altars, groves, and images, with all thereto belonging, but also to abolish their very names; and God by Isaiah commandeth not to pollute ourselves with the garments of the image, but to cast it away as a menstruous clout. Mast. Rolls. These are no part of idolatry, but are commanded by the prince for civil order, and if you will not be ordered, you shew yourself disobedient to the laws. White. I would not willingly disobey any law, only I would avoid those things which are not warranted by the word of God. Mast. Req. These are commanded by act of parliament, and in disobeying the laws of your country you disobey God. White. I do it not of contempt, but of conscience; in all other things I am an obedient subject. L. C. J. Thou art a contemptuous fellow, and will not obey the laws. White. Not so, my Lord; I do and will obey the laws, and therefore refusing but a ceremony out of conscience, and refusing the penalty for the same, I rest still a good subject. L. C. J. The Queen's majesty was overseen not to make you of her council, to make laws and

and orders for religion. White. Not so my lord, I am to obey the laws, warranted by the word of God. L. C. J. Do the Queen's laws command any thing against the word of God? White. I do not say so my Lord. L. C. J. Yes, marry, you do, and there I will hold you. White. Only God and his laws are absolutely perfect: all men and their laws may err. L. C. J. This is one of Shaw's darlings: I tell thee what, I will not say any thing of affection, for I know thee not saving by this occasion; thou art the wickedest and most contemptuous person that has come before me since I sat in this commission. White. Not so my Lord, my conscience witnesseth otherwise. Mast. Req. What if the Queen should command to wear a gray frize gown, would you come to church then? White. That were more tolerable, than that God's ministers should wear the habit of his enemies. L. C. J. How if she should command to wear a fools coat, and a cock's comb? White. That were very unseemly, my Lord, for God's ministers. Dean West. You will not then be obedient to the Queen's commands. White. I would only avoid those things that have no warrant in the word of God, that are neither decent nor edifying, but flatly the contrary, and are condemned by all the reformed churches. L. C. J. You would have no laws. White. If there were no laws, I would live like a christian, and do no wrong; if I received any, so it were. L. C. J. Thou art a rebel. White. Not so my Lord, a true subject. L. C. J. Yea, I swear by God, thou art

art a very rebel, for thou wouldst draw thy sword and lift up thy hand against thy Prince, if time served. White. I thank God, my heart standeth towards God and my Prince, and God will not condemn though your honour hath so judged. L. C. J. Take him away. White. I will speak a word which I am sure will offend, and yet I must speak it; I heard the name of God taken in vain; If I had done it, it would have been a greater offence than that which I stand here for. Mr Gerard. White, White, you don't behave yourself well. White. I pray your worship, shew me wherein, and I will beg pardon and amend it. L. C. J. I may swear in a matter of charity. White. There is no such occasion; but because it is bruited that at my last coming before you, I denied the supremacy of my prince, I desire your honour's worship with all that be present to bear witness that I acknowledge her majesty, the chief governor next Christ, over all cause within her dominions, and to this I will subscribe. I acknowledge the book of articles, and the book of common prayer, as far as they agree with the word of God. I acknowledge the substance of the doctrines and sacraments of the church to be sound and sincere; and so do I of rites and orders, as far as they agree to the word of God. Dean of West. You will not then allow that all things in the book of common prayer, are taken out of the word of God. White. Though they should be so, yet being done by men, I cannot give them the same warrant as the writings of the Holy Ghost.

ghost. L. C. J. Take him away. White. I would to the Lord Jesus, that my two years imprisonment might be a means of having these matters fairly decided by the word of God, and the judgment of other reformed churches. L. C. J. You shall be committed I warrant you. White. Pray, my Lord, let me have justice; I am unjustly committed; I desire a copy of my presentment. L. C. J. You shall have your head from your shoulders; have him to the Gate-house. White. I pray you commit me to some prison in London, that I may be near my house. L. C. J. No, Sir, you shall go thither. White. I have paid fines and fees in other prisons, send me not where I shall pay them over again. L. C. J. Yes, marry shall you; this is your glory. White. I desire no such glory. L. C. J. It will cost you twenty, —I warrant you, before you come out. White. God's will be done.

This examination may help to shew how ill grounded several of those complaints were, which were made against the dissenters, with regard to the rudeness and indecency of their behaviour before their superiors. Such treatment was sufficient to have provoked persons of the calmest dispositions to utter unadvised speeches; and yet we find in the case of White, that he behaved with great temper, and spoke with much respect and decency to his judges. The barbarous and rough behaviour of the chief justice, could not draw from him one disrespectful sentence against either the Queen, the Bishops, or the Judges. It



has been accounted a great sin in the non-conformists of those times, to depart from the communion of the established church, and Stripe in his life of Archbishop Parker, makes it a matter of great lamentation; but as these Puritans were persuaded that the many things imposed upon them were sinful, they did no more than what was their duty, when they refused to submit to human dogmas, contrary to the dictates of their own minds. It is no reflection upon lawful authority, nor disobedience to civil authority to refuse subjection with regard to things which do not lie within their jurisdiction. Matters of conscience, are totally beyond all civil jurisdiction. If men pretend conscience to destroy civil society, and the rights of mankind, they are liable to be punished for injustice, and an assault committed against the community; but though they refuse to observe established modes of worship, they are not worthy of punishment, unless they pretend to hinder others to do it. Whoever endeavours to impose their opinions upon others, upon civil pains and punishment, are guilty of an assault upon society, and deserve to be corrected by the civil magistrate, for attacking the liberties of others. The chief magistrate is the appointed guardian of human liberty, and it is his duty to secure every subject in his right, and privileges; and there can be no privilege dearer to men than the freedom to serve the Almighty according as their own consciences direct them,

them, by means of divine revelation. If the Puritans meant to impose their opinions upon the established clergy, otherwise than by evidence and argument, they deserved the treatment which they met with; but it was cruel and iniquitous to punish them for not conforming to other men's opinions, when they had no evidence that they were right, but believed that they were wrong.

This severity towards the dissenters, instead of diminishing their party, encreased their numbers. Pity which generally takes sides with the afflicted and distressed, moved multitudes to join the Puritans, and espouse their interest. The simplicity of their manners, and their fortitude under their afflictions, made stronger impressions on the minds of others than either their written defences or their sermons; and such as saw how meekly and resolutely they suffered, could not resist the impression which this appearance made upon them. Without consulting their own safety or fearing the danger which might attend their countenancing people, who were the objects of court and clerical vengeance, multitudes flocked to the persecuted ministers, and shared with them in their shame and sufferings. Assisted by a respectable party of the laity, the ministers proceeded to exercise all the parts of their ministerial functions, in as private a manner as they could; and to support one another as far as possible, they signed a protestation themselves, which all their congregations joined in: this consisted of a representation of their case, and an enumeration of the evils which attended the imposition

of useleſs ceremonies and habits upon the church; and concluded with a declaration of ſubjection to the ordinances of God, which they now profeſſed to adhere to. Such as loved eaſe, and were not ſo zealous in the cauſe of religion, joined themſelves to the French and Dutch churches to avoid perſecution; but the Queen and her council found a method to deprive them of this retreat. Letters were written by the council to the Dutch church in London, dated April, one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy three, wherein they ſharply reprov'd them for giving countenance to the Puritans, and threaten them, in the Queen's name, with baniſhment, if they continued to receive her Maſteſty's ſubjects into their church. Many methods were tried to bring the Queen and Biſhops to moderation, but all in vain; the letters from foreign churches and divines were deſpiſed, and the diſſenters perſecuted without mercy. No interceſſion was regarded when made for the Puritans, though the papiſts were ſuffered to live peaceably, without any moleſtation. Elizabeth never ſhewed mercy except when the rules of her policy diſpoſed her to it; and it may be truly ſaid of her that mercy was a feeling ſhe was ſeldom affected with; ſhe was naturally and deliberately untender and ſevere.

This year the practice of prophesying, 1574. or expounding the ſcriptures, which had begun in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy one, was diſcharged by the Queen's appointment. The Archbiſhop complained that

that these associations were seminaries of puritanism; and declared to the Queen, that the more averse the people were to popery, that they were in more danger of non-conformity; that by these assemblies and exercises, the Puritan ministers rendered themselves popular, and made the people so inquisitive, that they would not submit to the orders of their superiors as became them. It is hardly credible if history and experience did not both confirm it, that any persons bearing the character of pastors, could envy the increase of knowledge among their fellow christians, or fear the consequences of a free enquiry and debate concerning religion; yet it is manifest, that the most shining characters in the kingdoms of this world, have always been averse to freedom of enquiry, among the common people. Parker was glad to find that the Queen agreed with him in this great object of his hatred, and proceeded without loss of time, to banish all these prophesyings out of his province. He began with Norwich, and endeavoured to purge that diocese of these unnecessary exercises of religion; but the Bishop, who was a religious man, was not fond of this new kind of discipline; he loved religion, and was not inclined, that there should be any interruption made to it within his jurisdiction. He wrote a letter to his Grace of Canterbury, wherein he signified his dissatisfaction at this new method of church œconomy. The Archbishop was chagrined at this letter, for the contents were far from pleasing him; he therefore wrote another epistle

epistle to his chaplain in that diocese, full of severe reflections against the conduct of the Bishop of Norwich. His Grace of Norwich wrote a letter to the privy council, who were as yet ignorant of these proceedings, and were surprized at the Archbishop's instructions. They, upon this, ordered his lordship to support the prophesyings, and wrote a letter to him for that purpose, signed by T. Smith, Wa. Mildmay, Edwin, Bishop of London; Francis Knollys. This surprized and nettled Parker; it was an unexpected mortification, to find his darling project contradicted by an order of the privy council, whom he imagined were as bent upon persecuting measures as himself; yet, for the time, he dissembled his Chagrin. Parker's aversion to these prophesyings was so strong, that it was not a small opposition to his measures that could make him give up his enterprize; he therefore acquainted the Queen with the injunctions of the privy council concerning the continuation of these prophesying societies, contrary to her express command; and desired to understand by what authority they had issued such injunctions. The privy council finding the Queen offended at their proceeding, ceased to interfere any farther in this affair, and left her in full possession of the victory. The old Bishop of Norwich was obliged to yield, and wrote to his chancellor to suppress these societies. This disagreeable employment broke his heart, and he died soon after. Bishop Parkhurst, was chaplain to Queen Katherine Parr, and tutor to Bishop Jewel. In the reign of Mary, he fled  
to

to Zurich in Switzerland, and remained an exile all the time of her reign. He was a great friend of the Puritans, and was always unwilling to treat them severely. He often remonstrated against the severities of the Archbishop, and with reluctance obeyed his orders. He appears to have been a good man, and is said to have been a learned divine, and zealous protestant. Some religious people in Cambridghire, were accustomed to assemble on holidays, and on other occasions, after they had finished their work, to read the scriptures and confirm one another in the faith of the christian religion, and practice of morality : the commissioners were informed of these assemblies, and commanded the clergy in these parishes to suppress these unlawful meetings, as they were disposed to call them. These plain honest people declared, that they had no intention of disturbing the peace of either church or state, but assembled for their mutual edification, and to promote brotherly love and charity. Their own account of their assemblies is worthy of recording. They say, formerly we have at divers times spent and consumed our holy days vainly, in drinking at the ale-house, and playing at cards and dice, and other vain pastimes, not meet for us, and such of our calling and degree, for which we have been often blamed by our parsons : we thought it better to bestow that time in soberly and godly reading the scriptures, only for the purposes aforesaid, and no other. We do not favour or maintain any of the opinions of the Anabaptists, Puritans, Papists,

or

or Libertines, but would be glad to learn our duty towards God, our Prince and magistrates, towards our families and neighbours, in such sort as becomes good, faithful and obedient subjects; and it is our greatest and only desire, to live, follow, and perform the same, accordingly as God shall give us grace. But the Archbishop was not so much afraid of drunkenness, cards and dice, as of praying and reading the scriptures. Revelation opens the understandings of men, and teaches them to judge for themselves, in what pertains to religion, and is exceeding dangerous to all sorts of hierarchy in the church, except that of Jesus Christ, which teaches it in its utmost latitude. Parker well knew, that a few ignorant men are far easier imposed on, than such as know that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free; for this reason he was an enemy to that sort of exercise, which tends to improve the minds of men in religious knowledge.

Sampson, Dean of Christ's church, Oxford, resigned his lecture this year, being struck with a palsy, and no longer able to do duty. Sampson was a man of great honesty and integrity, and suffered much for the sake of a good conscience; he used great freedom with his superiors, and as a faithful brother both reprov'd their sins, and pointed out their duty to them: he was not afraid of dignity nor power when his duty required him to speak or act. His letters to Grindal shew the goodness of his heart, and the uprightness of his disposition. The pageantry of a Bishops train did  
not

not appear to him consistent with that humility which the gospel requires; for this reason he puts Grindal in mind of the snares he was exposed to, by complying with what was inconsistent with a good conscience, and the simplicity of religion. Such plainness will be reckoned among men who guide their conversation by their worldly interest, rude and imprudent; but at the same time, that their passions condemn the measures, their consciences must commend the man, and approve of his freedom and honesty.

Parker, about this time, pretended to discover a plot, which in the end raised much ridicule against him; he was fond of hearing stories, and listened to all the reports which were told him concerning the non-conformists. One of his servants contrived a sham plot, with a design to disgrace the Puritans, and reported that one Undertree, and some others, had agreed to murder the Lord Treasurer, and the Archbishop. Parker was alarmed at this news, and almost frightened out of his senses; he knew that the Puritans owed him no favours, and believed the reality of this conspiracy which never existed, except in the false report of his servant, and his own disordered imagination. He immediately wrote to the Lord Treasurer, an account of this conspiracy, in such an incoherent manner, which shewed the concern he was in, and the deep impression the fear thereof made upon him: he said that this horrible conspiracy had so astonished him, that his will and memory were quite gone, and



wished that he were dead before he should see with his bodily eyes, that which was now brought to a full ripeness. He prayed that the discoverer of the conspiracy might be protected and honourably rewarded, and the conspirators punished with the utmost severity, otherwise the end would be worse than the beginning. Parker, to dissemble his fear, pretended that his chief concern was for the safety of the Queen, and Treasurer; for he said he was afraid when wicked men attempted to destroy those who were near her Majesty's person, that they would at last make an attempt upon her also; and that even the Earl of Leicester, who pretended to be her bosom friend would sting her, when he had an opportunity. The Archbishop sent proper officers to apprehend some of the chief of the Puritans, whom he suspected; but after the matter was fairly enquired into, it appeared to be a mere contrivance of the Bishop's servant, to bring disgrace upon the Puritans. The Archbishop's reputation suffered prodigiously by this plot; all impartial people blamed him for imprisoning men of character and reputation, upon such idle reports. The Puritans called in question his honour, but more disputed his honesty; the Bishop of London, and Dr Chatterton, of Queen's college, Cambridge, reflected upon him severely; which provoked him to give them some very ungenteel names; he called them chatterers, and said he cared not two chips for all that, they could prove against him.

The

The last public acts which Parker was employed in, were visiting the Diocese of 1575. Winchester, and the Isle of Wight; where he used such severities as will perpetuate his memory with disgrace, to the latest posterity. Many foreign protestants, and seafaring people of all countries, resorted to this island, which occasioned the habits and ceremonies not to be so strictly observed, as in other places; because their trade and commerce required liberty. When the Archbishop came thither with his retinue, without regarding the welfare of the island, he turned out all those ministers who refused the habits, and shut up their churches. The inhabitants were so much provoked at this outrageous behaviour, that they sent their complaints to the Earl of Leicester, who made such a representation of their case to the Queen, that she gave immediate orders for all things to return to their former channel; and when Parker came to court, after he had finished his visitation, her Majesty received him coldly and declared her displeasure against his severities. Several other complaints were made against him, by persons of distinction, but instead of softening his temper, they only provoked his spleen; and drew from him an angry letter to the Lord Treasurer, wherein he complains of the interest of the Puritans at court, and the inconstancy and fickleness of some Bishops, who were not disposed to follow him in the ungodly paths of persecution. The whole extent of the British dominions, severely felt the influence,

ence of our Archbishop's power, except the islands of Guernsey, and Jersey; these had been an asylum for the French refugees, since the time of the massacre at Paris; and lying upon the coasts of France, were chiefly inhabited by people of that nation, who were allowed the use of the Geneva, or French discipline, by the permission of the Lords of the council. Messrs. Cartwright and Snape, were invited to assist the ministers there, informing a proper plan of discipline for their churches: this was a happy circumstance for Cartwright, who being banished from his native country, enjoyed a quiet retreat in these islands. About this time, these two divines assisted in composing a form of discipline, for the churches in these parts, which continued till the latter end of the reign of King James the first, when the liturgy of the church of England was established there.

Amidst all the severities shewed to the non-conformists, the Queen shewed a wonderful partiality to papists; and though they were the most inveterate enemies to her person and government, she often shewed them instances of clemency, which appeared more like special favours than acts of mercy. She often released them out of prison, and connived at their religious assemblies, of which, at this time, there were five hundred and upwards in England. Many of her Majesty's servants resorted to the Portugal Ambassador's house, where mass was publicly said; and because the Sheriffs and Recorder of London disturbed them, they

they were sent to the Fleet prison by the Queen's special command. At this very season the papists were preaching against the Queen's life, and using all methods to perpetuate their own religion. Seminaries of learning were at this time erected, and endowed in several places of Europe for educating English youth, and for providing a succession of missionaries to be sent into England for the propagation of their faith. The first of these was erected when the kingdom was excommunicated, and many others were erected afterwards to the great prejudice of the protestant religion. The popish Princes contributed liberally to this pious design, and the English catholics gave their utmost assistance to promote it. Large sums of money were annually carried out of England to maintain young men intended for the support of popery. The number of these colleges encreased in a short time to a great length, and the number of students which frequented them from England was incredible. The first was founded at Douay, in one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine, by Philip, King of Spain;—the second at Rome, in one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, by Pope Gregory the thirteenth;—the third at Valladolid, in one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine, by the King of Spain;—the fourth at Seville, in one thousand five hundred and ninety-three, by the same;—the fifth at Saint Omers, in one thousand five hundred and ninety-six, by the same;—the sixth at Madrid, in one thousand six hundred and six, by Joseph

Joseph Crefwel, Jesuit;—the seventh at Louvaine, in the same year, by Philip the third, King of Spain;—the eighth at Leige, one thousand six hundred and sixteen, by the Archbishop of that country;—the ninth at Ghent, in one thousand six hundred and twenty-four, by Philip the fourth. This shews the zeal of the Roman catholics for propagating their religion, and the folly of the English government in this reign, in giving so much countenance to a religion which is calculated to enslave every nation, wherever it is professed. These colleges in a short time answered the end of their institution; for in a few years after, the two colleges of Douay and Rome sent over three hundred priests to England; and it is reasonable to suppose the rest would not remain idle. This year the family of Love began to appear in England; this sect took its rise from one Henry Nicholas, a Dutchman, and are said to have maintained very strange opinions; but as their adversaries have chiefly written their history, it is to be supposed, that most of the colouring is exaggerated: we shall hear more of this people in the sequel of this history.

The penal laws were about this time severely executed against the anabaptists: they were mostly Germans who had fled from persecution in their own countries; and it was a great breach of hospitality to persecute them in a strange land, when they lived peaceably. There were two sorts of them; one who differed from other protestants only with regard to the subject and mode of baptism, another

ther who were wild enthusiasts, and had in their own countries committed many extravagancies. They talked concerning religion in a wild and unintelligible manner, and turned the greatest part of the scriptures into allegory; these being joined with rest in the same name and denomination, brought the others into disgrace. Seven and twenty of them were apprehended in a private house, on Easter-day, this year, where they were assembled for worship, of whom four recanted the following points with which they were charged. 1. That Christ took not flesh of the substance of the Virgin. 2. That infants born of faithful parents, ought to be rebaptized. 3. That no christian man ought to be a magistrate. 4. That it is not lawful for a christian man to take an oath. The rest refusing to abjure, two of them who were Dutchmen, were burnt, whose names were John Wielmacker and Hendrick Terwort. The Dutch congregation interceded for their lives, and Mr Fox wrote to the Queen in their favours, but she was inexorable. This was a great reproach to all protestants who professed an abhorrence of popery; for it was acting upon one of the leading principles of the church of Rome, that it is lawful to burn heretics: it was also acting contrary to the laws of hospitality, which require, that strangers, while they behave soberly, should be well used: but this was nothing to Elizabeth, who never regarded any laws, when she could serve her own interest by transgressing them.

Arch-

Archbishop Parker died a little before these heretics were burnt, and did not enjoy the pleasure of seeing this execution of the laws against heresy, which he abhorred more than all other crimes. He was born at Norwich, in the year one thousand five hundred and four, and educated in Bennet college, Cambridge. He married in the reign of Edward the sixth, and on that account was obliged to live privately, during the reign of Mary. When Elizabeth came to the throne, he was promoted to the see of Canterbury, as a person she found qualified to pursue her arbitrary measures. He was a person of strong passions, which he seldom endeavoured to restrain; his leading character is that of a cruel and severe man towards those that differed from him in matters of opinion. He was a perfect slave to the prerogative of the Queen, and the uniformity of the church; upon which he ingratted the most arbitrary principles, and the most tyrannical practice that almost ever appeared in a clergyman; he was a Papist in all things, except the name, and more cruel to protestants, who would not submit to his arbitrary dictates, than most of the Roman catholic Bishops. It does not appear from the account of his life, that he was either diligent in his function, or pious in his acts of devotion. The sabbath day was generally one of his feast days; on which he indulged himself to an excess, inconsistent with his episcopal character. He was a man of considerable learning, and well skilled in ecclesiastical antiquity, as appears from his

his *Antiquitates Britannicæ*. He left his papers to Benner college library, where he received his education, which have been of great service to the several writers of the history of the reformation. He died of the stone in the seventy second year of his age, and was interred in Lambeth chapel the sixth of June, where his fabric rested till it was removed by a private gentleman, who purchased the palace for a mansion house, at the end of the civil wars. The admirers of church power have extolled him, as a person of great capacity; but he appears to have been one of those men whom the very praises of his friends sufficiently condemn.

Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York, succeeded Parker, in the see of Canter- 1576, bury: when he was an inferior, he walked by the direction of his superiors in persecuting the Puritans, although from his principles which he had professed, he was a friend to their sentiments; but when he came to be preferred, he altered his behaviour, and became a violent persecutor. He was a person of no great abilities, and had but an indifferent moral character.

This year a bill was presented in parliament, for taxing such as did not come to church to receive the sacrament, with certain sums of money; but it was thought proper to drop it. The convocation were employed in framing articles concerning admitting persons rightly qualified to the ministry, and establishing good order in the church: thirteen of them were published by a



licence from the Queen, though the great seal was never affixed to them; but her Majesty would not give countenance to these two, for marrying at all times of the year, and for private baptism, by a lawful minister in cases of necessity. One of these articles makes void all licences for preaching, dated before the eighth of February, one thousand five hundred and seventy-five; but provides that such as shall be thought meet for that office, should be re-admitted, without difficulty or expence. The design of this was to clear the church of all non-conformists; and if all the Bishops had pursued this plan heartily, it would have done it effectually; for as no licences could have been obtained, without conformity to the habits and ceremonies, they were sure every conscientious Puritan would refuse, and by that means would have been excluded. If this practice had taken place, the church would have had no ministers to have done duty, for the generality of the conforming clergy were so ignorant and illiterate, that many of them could neither read nor preach, so as to be understood. The non-conformist ministers supplied the place of these ignorant church guides, and under the character of curates and lecturers, for a small recompence from the incumbent, with the voluntary bounty of the parish, performed the offices of parish ministers. As their manner of preaching was warm and affectionate, they gained the minds of the people, and made a deep impression upon their hearts and affections: they had all the appearance

of

of being interested in their subject, and really concerned for the happiness of the souls of their hearers; this was more effectual to gain their esteem, than those dry flegmatic orations in which the speaker appears noways interested, but passes over a few dull pages with the utmost coolness and indifference. It has seldom or never been found in experience, that an audience has been much affected with a sermon, when the preacher delivered it with such dryness and indifference, as if he did not believe his own doctrine: the Puritan ministers were generally religious, and their minds were bent upon the duties of their function; their zeal kindled as they proceeded in their discourses, and their words had all the appearance of proceeding from their hearts. To this they added diligence in visiting from house to house, reproving and exhorting, as occasion required, which gave them such authority among their people, that their reproofs were feared, and their admonitions highly esteemed. The common people easily perceived the difference between these faithful teachers, and those hirelings, who served only for the love of gain, and readily placed their esteem where they perceived the greatest merit. The insipid dry practice of reading sermons which was introduced in the reign of Henry the eighth, issued in a flegmatic delivery, and carelessness of action, which is naturally disgusting to every denomination of hearers; the speaker, with his eyes fixed constantly on his papers, can with difficulty spare a

complimentary glance to his audience, without missing a period of his discourse, or being in danger of stopping in the middle of his sermon. The consequence of this has always been, and still is, the hearers either take a nap to themselves, or weary for the turning over of the last leaf of the sermon.

These ministers notwithstanding their strict attendance to their pastoral duties, continued their associations and private assemblies, for recovering the primitive order and discipline of the church. This was a sad grievance to the Queen, and the court of Bishops, who were determined to oppose all innovations of this kind. Though the Bishops confessed every first day of lent, that there was a godly discipline in the primitive church; and that this discipline is not at present exercised in the church of England, and that it is much to be wished that it were restored; yet they endeavoured, as much as they were able, to prevent its restoration. This shews us, that liturgies, and public services, are only insignificant collections of words and phrases, never to be taken in their ordinary meaning, except when it serves the private ends and purposes of those who have the direction of the established religion. The ministers of Northampton, and Warwickshire, in one of their assemblies, agreed upon some rules of order and discipline in their several parishes; but as soon as the court received notice thereof, they were alarmed, and sent letters to the new Archbishop to suppress them. His Grace was ready

to obey this order, and sent immediately to the Bishops of these dioceses, to see that all things were reduced to their former state; and in case of necessity, to send for assistance from himself, or the High-commissioners. Upon this Messrs Paget, and Oxenbridge, two leading men in the association, were apprehended and sent to London.

There was another association this year, at Cockfield, in Suffolk, where sixty ministers assembled from Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, to confer together, concerning the book of common prayer, and to come to some agreement concerning what was to be observed, and what they ought to reject. They at last reduced their resolutions to so many heads, which were composed in Latin, by Messrs. Cartwright and Travers, in the following order: concerning ministers—church wardens—concerning deacons, or collectors for the poor—classes or presbyterial assemblies. The intention of these conclusions was to endeavour a reformation in the church, without separation from her communion. The chief thing which they debated was how far their conclusions were consistent with the peace of the church, and how they might be made agreeable with episcopacy. Though they maintained that the people's call was essential to the pastoral office, yet the greatest part admitted of ordination and induction by the Bishop only, as the officer appointed by law, that the minister might be able to claim his legal dues from the parish. These were some of their deliberations, at those meetings, which shew that

that they did not intend to forsake the church, unless in cases of great necessity.

Doctor Freke succeeded Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, whom we mentioned before, and who died but lately; he was a man of a very different temper, and quite agreeable to the mind of the Queen: in his first visitation, he shewed what might be expected from him, for he suspended all who were esteemed by the people, and who would not conform in every particular. In the neighbourhood of Norwich, he suspended Messrs John More, Richard Crick, George Leeds, Thomas Rebeck, and Richard Dowe. These ministers sent an address to the Queen and her council for relief, but were informed, that her Majesty was fully bent to urge uniformity, and would remove all who would not conform to the established orders. In this diocese suspensions and deprivation succeeded so fast, that, to mention all the names and cases of the deprived ministers, would appear more like a nomenclature than a history. Mr Stroud, of Cranbrook, had been suspended before the death of Parker, but had returned to his parish church; the Archbishop was informed that he was a disturber of the peace and forbid him to continue his usual exercises in the church, and leave the country; but he was so universally beloved, that almost the whole county of Kent signed petitions in his favour, and begged his continuance.

James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, died this year: He was a man of a peaceable temper, and  
averse

averse to all persecution ; he suffered much for religion in the reign of Mary, but upon Elizabeth's accession, he was appointed to the See of Durham : he was accounted a sound divine, and a man of much learning, but could hardly be persuaded to receive the habits, which he did not at all approve of. He was a great friend to the non-conformists, whom he sympathized with in their sufferings, though he could not resist the opposition which was made to them, nor save them from their sufferings except in his own Diocese. He died lamented, and was honoured after his death : Doctor Humphreys and Mr Fox wrote funeral verses upon him, as a mark of their esteem ; and all the Puritans in general loved him. In these times it was such a rare thing to find a Bishop not a persecuter, that every instance thereof was accounted a remarkable blessing. Mr Edward Deering died also this year, whose name has been already mentioned. He was a non-conformist divine, of an ancient family in Kent, and educated in Christ College, Cambridge. He was a diligent preacher, a learned man, and a fine orator ; he never could reconcile his mind to Bishops and ceremonies, but bore a zealous testimony against them. In one of his sermons before the Queen, he used the freedom to say, that in her affections her motto was *tanquam ovis*, i. e. as a sheep ; but now it might be *tanquam indomita juvinca*, as an untamed heifer ; for which he was forbidden to preach any more at court, and lost all his preferments in the church. The notion  
which

which prevailed in these days that ministers might say any thing to princes when they were in the pulpit, and reprove them in manner of the ancient prophets, led many of the zealous non-conformists to transgress the laws of prudence, to the prejudice of their cause and their own safety. Even some of these ministers in this reign believed, that they were as much moved to particularize the crimes of great persons, as those prophets whom God raised up of old to reprove the Jewish princes. This often moved them to use freedoms, which they were not called to by their office, and which they had no warrant for from the New Testament. The notions of theocracy prevailed in their theory of religion, which led them to mix their religious discourses with politics, and made them frequently rail at the court, which on many occasions provoked their superiors to persecute them when they were not thinking of it. These ministers were undoubtedly ill used, and their oppression was intolerable: the Queen was naturally severe, and hated their principles; but this was a reason why they should have been more cautious, and avoided giving unnecessary offence.

Grindal endeavoured to regulate the proceedings, and attempted to render them as inoffensive as possible; he favoured this practice; but the Queen was resolved to abolish them, and ordered the Archbishop to cause them to be laid aside. She said it was for the good of the church that there were few preachers, and that three or four in a county were sufficient; most of the bishops com-

but the Archbishop remained obstinate; he had complied with many other severities, but his conscience would not permit him to proceed in this point: preaching the gospel he believed necessary to the church, and he would not comply with having these exercises removed. He wrote a letter to the Queen, remonstrating against her orders, containing his reasons for refusing to obey them, which so provoked Elizabeth, that she was resolved to make an example of him, for a terror to others. Nothing incensed her more than to dispute her authority: this was what she could not endure; she therefore, by an order from the star-chamber, confined him to his house. This was such an exertion of the royal prerogative, as was no ways consistent with the English constitution. Elizabeth shewed herself in this the head of the church of England, with a vengeance; when, without consulting the bishops, or any of the clergy assembled in convocation, she could pronounce so positively concerning religion, and confine the primate of all England in his house, for a matter of conscience. This was even more than ever her father did, without some process or colour of law. Henry ordinarily prevailed on others to assist him: his parliament and the bishops were at his devotion; but Elizabeth consulted none in this act of her prerogative, which shews how absolute she was in every act of her government. Grindal was persuaded to make his submission, which he did in part; but would not retract his opinion con-



cerning the exercises of prophesying, nor confess his sorrow for what had happened. Elizabeth was once determined to have deprived him; but this was thought too hard. She did not proceed to this step, yet Grindal never recovered the favour of the Queen.

It was about this time that Mr Lever died; he was once a great favourite of the Queen, but upon refusing the habits, he fell under her displeasure: he was master of Saint John's College, Cambridge, in the reign of Edward the sixth, and was accounted one of the most eloquent preachers in those times. He was a zealous defender of the protestant religion, and suffered much on account thereof, in the reign of Queen Mary. When Elizabeth came to the throne, he might have been preferred to the highest dignity in the church, provided he could have agreed with the terms of subscription, and the habits; but refusing to comply, he was suspended by the ecclesiastical commissioners. His merits were so considerable, that on account thereof, and the interest of his friends, he was made Archdeacon of Coe, and master of Sherburne Hospital, near Durham, where he spent his days in great reputation and usefulness.

This year several of the Puritan ministers went over to Antwerp, and received ordination: they could not have orders from the bishops, without complying with the vestments and other superstitious rites, which they abhorred. Messrs Cartwright, Trenner, Ashton, and

and Travers, were the chief of this number; some of them were in deacons orders before they went thither, and wanted to have what they thought full orders, that they might regularly discharge the ministerial office without reproach; for in these times, the right of men having gifts to preach the gospel, at the call of the people, was much disputed. It was thought necessary for the preachers to receive the gifts which were necessary to qualify them for fulfilling their office, through the hands of so many clergymen, appointed by God to convey them; and all other persons who made free to communicate their instructions publicly, without the good leave of a Bishop or consistory of ministers, were accounted presumptuous intruders upon a sacred office, and for that reason were despised on all hands.

After the death of Pilkington, Bishop of Durham; Whittingham, the Dean of that bishopric, met with much trouble concerning his ordination. Doctor Barnes, Bishop of Carlisle, was preferred to the see of Durham, upon the decease of Pilkington; he was a man of severe principles, and a great persecutor of the non-conformists. He having attempted in vain to bring the clergy of his diocese to a perfect conformity, complained to the Archbishop of York, of the laxness of his predecessor, and the obstinacy of the clergy. Sandy's, the new Archbishop, resolved to visit his whole province, and began with Durham, where Whittingham was the principal man under the Bishop, whose influence was great, and whose

piety was very exemplary; he had been much respected in the church, and was a clergyman of long standing. The Archbishop thought if he could persuade him to conformity, his example would prevail with the greatest part of the inferior clergy. He remained obstinate and would not comply: upon this they formed an accusation against him, consisting of thirty-five articles, and forty-nine questions; the principal of which was concerning his ordination. He had been ordained at Geneva, and had not received ordination according to the form of the church of England: this was improved against him by the Archbishop. Whittingham instead of answering to the charges brought against him, denied the Archbishop's jurisdiction over Durham, upon which Sandys excommunicated him; but Whittingham appealed to the Queen, who directed a commission to the Archbishop, the Lord President of the North, and the Dean of York, to hear and determine the validity of his ordination, and to enquire concerning the other charges contained in the articles. The Lord President was a friend to the dissenters, and Doctor Hutton, Dean of York, was of the same sentiments with Whittingham, and maintained, that the Dean of Durham was ordained after a better manner than the Archbishop himself. This was a cutting disappointment to Sandys, both on account of his being contradicted by his own Dean, and because his right of visitation was called in question; he therefore applied for another commission, which he obtained.

ed. This was directed to himself, the Bishop of Durham, the Lord President, the Chancellor of the diocese, and a few others, upon whom he thought he could depend. The chief intention of this commission was, to endeavour to deprive Whittingham, as a layman, who had unlawfully assumed ecclesiastical orders : but in this the Bishops were disappointed; for he produced a written certificate of his ordination, which the Lord President insisted upon to be sufficient, so the commission was adjourned *sine die*. The Archbishop suffered much in his character for this malevolent prosecution, and lost the esteem of all good men. The calling in question Whittingham's ordination, was expressly contrary to a statute in that reign; by which the ordinations of foreign reformed churches were declared valid, and those who had no orders, were made of the like capacity with others, to enjoy any place of ministry within the church of England.

Whittingham died about six months after this prosecution, which ended all his afflictions in this life; he was born in the city of Chester, in one thousand five hundred and twenty-four, and educated in Brazen Nose College, Oxford; he was from thence translated to Christ's Church, on account of his learning; for he was reckoned one of best scholars in the university at that time. He travelled into foreign countries and increased greatly in knowledge: in the reign of Mary, he remained with the exiles at Frankfort, and upon the division which happened there, he  
went

went with part of his congregation to Geneva, and became their minister. He was concerned in translating the Geneva Bible, and the Psalms in metre. When he returned to his own country, he was preferred to the Deanry of Durham, (by the interest of the Earl of Leicester) where he spent the rest of his days. This Dean is allowed, even by his enemies, to have performed singular services for the government in the north country; and to have behaved nobly in opposing the Archbishop of York, in his pretensions to visit the church of Durham; which, by a peculiar privilege, was excluded from his visitation: but he deserves praise for another service which he has done the protestant churches, in proving that their form of ordination is as valid and sufficient, as that of the church of England. It appears indeed absurd, that the church of England should pretend to reordain all ministers, who have received ordination from presbyterian churches, when they join their communion, seeing the thirteenth statute of Elizabeth forbids that practice; for unless this law is set aside by subsequent acts of parliament, it must be contrary to law for the church to pursue this practice.

The Bishops of London and Norwich endeavoured to rival each other in pursuing the principles of the Queen, and the measures of the court; for they deprived all within their jurisdictions, who would not perfectly conform to the habits and ceremonies. The scarcity of preachers became every day greater throughout all England;

in

in the large and populous town of Northampton, there was not one for a long time, though the people supplicated the Bishop in the most earnest manner, for pastors to perform ministerial duties amongst them. It is said, that in the county of Cornwall, there were one hundred and forty clergymen who were not qualified to preach a sermon, and most of them non-residents and pluralists. The city of London appears to have been in the same situation, by their petition to the parliament this year, wherein they signify the deplorable state of the city, for want of ministers to preach the gospel, and to perform other duties. The people of Cornwall represented, that they were more than eighty thousand souls, who were in extreme want of the ordinances of the gospel; that the ministers who were sent among them were drunkards, gamblers, and sabbath-breakers; that the few faithful ministers who remained with them, were not suffered to do their duty, on account of the insults of papists, and wicked persons who slandered and abused them. This shews, that the bishops paid little regard to christianity, either in principle or practice, otherwise they would have abated their severities, rather than suffer the people to remain in ignorance, for the sake of a few useless ceremonies which might do mischief, but could be of no real service to religion.

This year the report of the Queen's marriage, was the occasion of much speculation.

A contract between her and the Duke of Anjou,

a French Roman catholic, was thought as good as concluded : this alarmed all the protestants in the nation, and some zealous preachers expressed their gloomy fears and apprehensions in their sermons from the pulpit. The Puritans throughout the nation were against this marriage ; and some of them were so forward as to write against it. Mr Stubbs, a student of Lincoln's Inn, whose sister was married to Mr Cartwright, published a treatise, entitled, " The Gaping Gulph, " wherein England will be swallowed with the " French marriage ;" which so enraged Elizabeth, that she issued a proclamation to suppress the book, and to apprehend the author and printer thereof. Stubbs the author, Singleton the printer, and Page the publisher of the book, were all apprehended, and sentenced to have their right hands cut off, by virtue of a law made in the reign of Mary, against the authors and publishers of seditious libels. The printer was pardoned, but Mr Stubbs and Page, were brought to a scaffold erected in the market place at Westminster, where their right hands were cut off, by driving a cleaver through the wrist with a mallet. All this was performed with the most shocking formality, as if the actors had been to have merited heaven by performing such a horrid piece of cruelty. Stubbs, as soon as his hand was cut off, pulled off his hat with his left hand, and cried with a loud voice, God save the Queen, which amazed all who were present, and filled their minds with horror and disgust against the authors of such barbarity,

barity, and created a stronger aversion in the minds of all men against the popish match. Mr Stubbs, notwithstanding this barbarous usage, employed his left hand the in service of Elizabeth, with great reputation, and performed the office of a brave commander in the wars of Ireland. Those who suffered for religion and a good conscience, in these times, seem to have had just and proper notions of christianity; their persecution did not force them to rebellion, nor even to speak evil of their persecuters; they even believed that it was their duty to pray for, and serve the very government which persecuted them. This was more like the religion of the Gospel, than that which directs men for frivolous offences, to speak evil of dignities, and lift up their hands against civil authority.

The state of the nation at this time was 1580. miserable and wretched; all ranks of men were slaves to an aspiring female, who could never be satisfied with power, nor knew how to reward a noble action, except it served her interest or gratified her pride. The parliament were dupes to her ambition, and for fear of her displeasure, durst not perform what their own minds dictated to them; they suffered their votes to be countermanded by the Queen's single authority, and had not courage to serve God Almighty when she forbade them. When the parliament, on the tenth of January this year, voted a day of fasting and humiliation, to be observed by as many members as could attend in the temple church,



she sent them word by her Vice Chamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton, that she was astonished at their rashness in proceeding without her privy and consent; upon which it was moved by the court party, that the house should acknowledge their offence, and ask her forgiveness, which they accordingly did. Such was the slavish spirit of a house of commons in these times, that they had the meanness of spirit to ask forgiveness for doing what they had an undoubted right to do, and what was their duty to perform.

Elizabeth having thus prohibited her parliament from appointing days of fasting among themselves, she next lays a prohibition upon the clergy. Some ministers after the prophesyings had been forbidden, agreed to observe days of private fasting and prayer, for the Queen and the church; and for exhorting the people to repentance and reformation of manners. The Queen reckoned this an encroachment upon her prerogative, and therefore sent a sharp message to the Archbishop to suppress them; affirming it was contrary to law and her prerogative, to observe any acts of religion without her leave and permission. Complaints were sent from many parts of the kingdom concerning the arbitrary proceeding of the Queen, and most earnest entreaties offered to her Majesty, for her permission to continue these exercises of devotion; but Elizabeth was determined to hear no prayers except such as she herself should appoint. In all matters concerning religion her will was a law, and she acted more like  
one

one who laid claim to divinity, than one who knew she was like other imperfect frail creatures, and must die like them. Such was the female head of the church of England at this time, and such the absolute authority which she claimed; that it cannot be proved from the New Testament, that ever Jesus Christ required more implicit obedience to his will, than this imperious pragmatistical princess required to her unjust and oppressive commandments.

The parliament being already intimidated by the rough behaviour of the Queen, could give no redress to those petitions which were sent to them; they could proceed no farther than join with the bishops in a petition to her Majesty, as head of the church, to redress them: but Elizabeth differed in her sentiments from her parliament; the distresses of her subjects were none of her concerns; she was grieved at the increase of the Puritans, and instead of granting them any relief, she wreathed the yoke of slavery faster about their necks, and urged with more violence the laws which required absolute conformity. She issued orders to enquire after those ministers who had not complied in every particular, and commanded all the bishops in their visitations, to press conformity with the greatest rigor. In the See of Canterbury, the springs of discipline moved slowly, because the metropolitan was under disgrace; yet the Puritans suffered severely through the tyranny of the high commission court, which exerted itself with more vigour on that account. Several

noted ministers were imprisoned, among whom were Messrs Nash, Marshalsea, Drewet, and others, and those who were not in confinement, were forbidden to preach in public unless they would first conform, nor were they allowed to assemble in private without danger of imprisonment.

Under this oppression their tempers were exasperated, and their minds inflamed, that some of them wrote satirical pamphlets against their adversaries, in which they used many severe expressions against the clergy, which gave great offence. It was the custom of these times to lampoon an adversary in songs and ballads, where a character was often drawn in such a manner, as turned the ridicule against the supposed offender, and raised the laughter or indignation of the populace at their expence. This was a way of handling an argument which the bishops could not endure; for though they sported themselves with the miseries of others, they could not themselves abide to be laughed at. To hear their own praises sung by a choir of ballad singers, made them feel too tenderly to remain without fretting. Dum dogs, who could not bark, were frequently the burden of these songs, and applied to all the clergy who devoured livings, but did not preach the gospel. Every impartial person who has nothing before his eyes but truth, must allow, that this sort of railery is very properly applied against all those who act so preposterously as the clergy of those times did;

did; for the absurdities which they maintained, were not worthy of a grave confutation, and deserved only to be laughed at and ridiculed. The formal and grave hypocrite will reckon this manner of handling religious subjects, impious and ungodly; but they ought to know, that it is more ungodly to maintain religion by violence and oppression, than to laugh at a formal pharisee, who means no more by his gravity than to gratify his passions, and serve his interest.

Elizabeth was highly provoked at the freedom of these pamphlets, and procured a statute this parliament, which made it death for any person to write a pamphlet, book, or letter, to the defamation of the Queen's Majesty, and that it should be judged felony for any person to publish any such books, letters, or pamphlets. This statute was limited to the life of the Queen; but many suffered death by virtue thereof during her reign. In the same sessions another act was made, which affected severely both Roman catholics and dissenters; it was entitled, "An act to retain the Queen's subjects in their due obedience." By this act, it was made treason for any priest or jesuit to seduce her Majesty's subjects from the established religion to that of Rome, and that all who did not attend public worship in the established church, according to the act of uniformity, should forfeit twenty shillings per month to the Queen; and provided they were absent twelve months, they should be bound with two sufficient sureties, in a bond of two hundred pounds, for their good behaviour.

haviour. Every schoolmaster who did not attend the common prayer, was to forfeit ten pounds per month, be disabled from teaching school, and suffer a year's imprisonment. This was a merciless law; for poor offenders had nothing to depend on, but to spend their days in prison, and pine away in sorrow and distress. By this law the Puritans were classed with the papists, and exposed to the same penal laws, though it was well known the one were the Queen's inveterate enemies, and the other her faithful friends. The convocation did nothing this year, except to present a humble petition to the Queen, to take away the Archbishop's sequestration, which her Majesty was not pleased to grant. She seldom forgave any person willingly, who contradicted her authority, whatever might be the reason.

Aylmer, Bishop of London, held a visitation this summer, and obliged his clergy to subscribe the following articles:—that they should wear the surplice in all their ministrations;—that they should not add or diminish any thing in reading divine service;—that they should keep exactly to the book of common prayer and sacraments: he then made the following enquiries,—whether all that had the cure of souls administered the sacraments in person;—whether they observed the ceremonies to be used in baptism and marriage;—whether the youths were catechised;—whether their ministers read the homilies; whether any of them called others that did not preach by ill names, such as dumb dogs; these

those who were not disposed to answer these interrogatories to his Lordship's satisfaction, were immediately suspended. ✓

Those violent measures, instead of reconciling the non-conformists to the church, encreased their aversion to her, and made the difference wider: men who are established in their principles, will not be persuaded to desert them, by the unmeaning jargon of canons, injunctions, subscriptions, and articles, unless they can perceive them founded upon divine revelation; much less will they have any regard for a church, which makes use of such carnal weapons.

By such uncharitable and unchristian methods multitudes were driven to a total separation from the church of England; and many carried their prejudices so far, as not to allow her to be a true church, nor her ministers to be true ministers of Jesus Christ; they renounced all communion with her, both in ceremonies, hearing the word, and sacraments. These people were called first Brownists, from Robert Brown, a preacher in the diocese of Norwich, descended of an honourable family in Rutlandshire, and nearly related to the Lord Treasurer Cecil: he was educated in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and frequently in Bennet church, where he was much admired for his zealous manner of preaching, and the vehemency of his delivery. He was once a school-master, and afterwards lecturer of Islington; but being naturally forward in his temper, and something enthusiastic, he could not settle in one place

*Brownists*

place, but went round the countries, exclaiming against the discipline and ceremonies of the church, exhorting all the people to forsake her communion. The Bishop of Norwich put him in prison; but upon confessing his fault he was set at liberty. He published a book the next year, which he intitled, *The Life and Manners of True Christians*, to which he prefixed a treatise of reformation, without tarrying for any, shewing the wickedness of those preachers who will not reform themselves and their flocks, because they will tarry till the magistrate command and compel them. For this he was taken into custody, and upon examination confessed he was the author of that book, but denied that he had any hand in the publishing of it; upon this he was again discharged, at the request of the Lord Treasurer, and sent him home to his fathers house, where he continued four years: but soon after this he travelled through the countries in company with one Richard Harison, who acted as his assistant, preaching against bishops ceremonies, ecclesiastical courts, ordination of ministers, and several other things, for which he was again put into prison, and very severely used. It is said he was committed to thirty-two different prisons, and treated in a most inhumane and shocking manner. He, in process of time, formed a congregation of his own principles; but through the tyranny of the Queen, and the fury of the bishops, they forced him to leave the kingdom. Several of Brown's friends transported themselves and their effects to Zaeland; and obtained

tained liberty from the magistrates to worship God in their own way; they settled at Middleburg in Zealand. In this place Brown formed a church according to his own plan; but in a short time they divided into parties: upon this Brown left them and returned into England, where he renounced his separation, and returned to the communion of the church, and became Rector of a church in Northamptonshire. Brown's enemies exaggerated his crimes, and his friends extolled his virtues; so that it is difficult to form a character of a man, who has had so many partial enemies and defenders of his reputation. He appears to have been a man of good abilities, and great resolution in his younger years: and the errors in the latter part of his life, seem to have proceeded rather from the weakness of a constitution worn out with hardships and oppression, than from any stated purpose of mind to pursue them. The hardships he had undergone in his youth, appear to have affected his spirits, and brought on a distemper of lunacy upon him, which made him behave rather like a mad man than one who possessed the full exercise of his reason and understanding. The principles on which he proceeded, shews that he was a man of understanding, and the sufferings he underwent, declare that he believed them; and it is altogether unfair to determine any man's character, from a few actions proceeding from the infirmities of a broken constitution, contrary to the whole tenor of his life.

: Robert Brown was the first who formed an in-  
 Vol. II. F f depen-



dependant congregation in England, and from whom all the independents for many years were called Brownists. The doctrines which they taught were much the same with those contained in the articles of the church of England, but they differed widely from the church in matters of government and discipline. They maintained, that the discipline of the established church was anti-christian, and all her ordinances invalid; they forbade all their followers to join with her in any part of public worship; they likewise refused all intercommunity of worship with the rest of the Protestant churches. They are called independents, because they held, that every assembly of professed believers, meeting together in one place for worship, have a right to perform all the acts of worship, government, and discipline, independent of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or other churches. They concluded, that according to scripture, every church ought to be confined to a single congregation: and that the government thereof, belongs to the whole members of the church; this is what, according to the stile of the civilians, is called democracy. The whole members of the church were consulted in receiving and excluding members; their church officers were chosen and appointed by the whole congregation, and set apart by prayer and fasting, and imposition of hands: they allowed of no Priesthood, but maintained, that the election of the brethren made an officer, and gave him full authority to discharge his office, and that the same  
 authority

authority might discharge him from his office, and reduce him to a private capacity. Neal, in his history of the puritans affirms, that they signed a covenant in presence of one another, when they were admitted church members, obliging each other to walk together according to the order they had agreed upon; but this I hardly think was a constant practice among them. It appears contrary to that openness and sincerity which they professed, to suppose it necessary to enforce an obligation by any human covenants or subscriptions; a professed subjection to the truth, was sufficiently fit for any security that they could give. If some particular societies ever observed this practice of making covenants, it is no reason to affirm that it was universal among the independants.

When the number of communicants among them increased, so as they could not meet in one place, the church divided and elected new officers as at first, and lived together as sister churches, giving to each other the right hand of fellowship. None of their churches claimed dominion over one another, but freely gave their advice to each other when it was asked, or admonished one another as their cases required; but if any sister church offended and did not receive the admonition, the others withdrew from them, and disowned them to be church a of Christ. No officer in a church had authority to administer the sacraments in another. Every society of these independents were an incorporated body, having full power in it-

self over all its members; so that no number of clergy or laity in other churches had any power to restrain, or interrupt them in any part of their discipline.

Their reasons for withdrawing from the church of England, have never yet been answered to the satisfaction of any unprejudiced persons. They acknowledged, that the church of England was not founded upon the plan which the Apostles of our Saviour left for a pattern to all churches, and therefore could not be a true church according to the plan of the New Testament: for this reason they accounted it unlawful to hold communion with them. They affirmed, that persecution for conscience sake was not a mark of the true church, but of anti-christ; and that the constitution of the hierarchy was too bad to be reformed; that the pillars were rotten, and that the structure must be made new. Mr Neal, in his History of the Puritans, observes, that the Brownists seem to have formed upon the practice of the apostolical churches, before the gifts of Inspiration and prophecy were ceased, and is therefore impractical in these latter ages, where the infirmities and passions of private church members too often take place of their gifts and graces. He might as well have said, that the practice of the Ten Commandments are impractical for the same reason; and that it is not now to be expected that men should obey the will of God, because the gifts of inspiration and prophesying are ceased long ago. It is manifest, that even in  
the

the apostolical times, men's infirmities and passions often took place of their gifts and graces; and in the days of our Saviour, it was so among his own disciples; yet, that is no argument against the reasonableness of those duties which were authorized both by his practice and commandments. This same Historian says, it was uncharitable in them to unchurch the whole world; but this was no more than the apostles had done before them; for we are informed by them, that the world lieth in wickedness, and that the disciples of Christ are not of the world: there are no visible marks by which we can distinguish between the disciples of Christ and the world, but the keeping of his commandments, and following the example of those who were directed by his spirit.

The chief of the independents at this time were Brown, Harrison Tylor, Copping, Thacker, and some others; the two last mentioned were afterwards put to death for their religion. They were most barbarously used by the Bishop of Norwich, who refused them all favours which he could withhold from them, and was highly displeased at every person who shewed them any pity. Mr Handson, with some others of the prisoners, complained to the Justices at their quarter sessions, of their long and illegal imprisonment, who were pleased to speak to the Bishop in their behalf; with whom he was so displeased, that he drew up twelve articles of impeachment against the Justices themselves, and caused them to be  
cited

cited before the Queen and her council, to answer for misdemeanors. He charged them with countenancing Copping, Tyler, and other disorderly clergymen; they were accused of contempt of his lordship's jurisdiction, in refusing to admit several ministers which he had ordained, because they were so ignorant that they could not read, and for removing one Wood from his living on the same account. These Justices gave in their answer to the charge which the Bishop brought against them, wherein they asserted their conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the church, and justly reflected upon his lordship for his cruelty in keeping men in prison for so many years, without bringing them to a trial, according to the laws of their country, and expressed their astonishment, that a Bishop of the church of England, should be a patron to ignorance, an enemy to the word of God, and the gospel of Christ. Upon this the justices were dismissed.

While the Bishops were rigorously persecuting the dissenters, the nobility and gentry shewed them favour: they received them into their house, in the character of chaplains and tutors to their children; not merely because they were persecuted, but because they found them to be persons of real worth, and usefulness. They were in general men of true piety, skilful in the scriptures, and zealous defenders of the protestant religion: they indulged themselves in none of those fashionable pleasures and vices which were customary in those times; but were faithful in discharging their duty

duty, and fulfilling the trust which was committed to them. In this situation they were covered from the violence of their persecutors, and preached in those families, and instructed their children; which was of great service to the succeeding generation.

The papists were now busy over the whole kingdom; swarms of jesuits came over from the foreign colleges, and practised upon the subjects of England; they spread their Books of devotion and controversy over all the nation, among the common people; they had private meetings in almost all the market towns in England; but in the north they were most numerous, and superior even to the protestants. This alarmed the ministry, and made them enquire after their priests; many of whom were apprehended; and three were put to death, viz. Edmund Champion, Ralph Sherwin, and Alexander Bryant. Champion was treated in a most barbarous manner; he was first tortured, afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered; to the everlasting infamy of those who advised such cruelty. It is a great disgrace to the protestant religion, when its friends and votaries make use of the weapons of Rome to defend it; no friend of christianity can in his heart approve of persecution in any shape whatsoever; and to torture, a papist because he is not of our opinion, is, in the first instance, to turn papist and renounce the protestant religion.

The rest of the Roman catholics were spared, because the Queen's match with the Duke of Anjou

Anjou was still depending. Elizabeth about this time sent assistance to the protestants in the Netherlands; for which they delivered into her hands the most important fortresses of their country, to be garrisoned by the English. She in like manner sent aid to the French protestants, who were at open war with their own King, and ordered a collection to be made over all England for relief of the city of Geneva, which at this time was besieged by the Duke of Savoy. These acts were not quite consistent with her own principles; but Elizabeth made all her principles subservient to her policy and interest.

This year the clergy were put in great ~~by~~ 1582. fear, <sup>by</sup> a new commission which the Queen granted to some of her hungry courtiers; it was called a commission of concealment, by which they were authorized to enquire into the titles of church lands and livings; all forfeitures, concealments, or lands, for which parish ~~the~~ <sup>men</sup> could produce no legal title, were given to these commissioners. The articles of enquiry were aimed against the Puritans, through them they made sad havock with the patrimony of the church. The queries they asked on these occasions were such, as few of the clergy were able to answer, or by answering them, they exposed their livings to the mercy of these rapacious courtiers, who were not easily satisfied with goods of that sort. What right have you to your parsonage? How came you by it? Who ordained you? At what age were you ordained? Have you a licence? Were you

you married under the hands of two Justices of the peace? Do you read the whole service? Do you use all the rites, ceremonies, and ornaments appointed by the Queen's injunctions? Have you publicly read the articles and subscribed them? These were the questions which were ordinarily asked at the clergy by these commissioners of concealments. The church-wardens in every parish were examined upon oath concerning their ministers, and the church-lands, with a special intention to sequester them to the purpose of the commissioners. This effectually alarmed the bishops, and brought them to their knees before the Queen: they begged, that her Majesty, out of regard to the church, would set aside that commission; which accordingly she did.

About this time, Mr Robert Wright, chaplain to Lord Rich, was grievously persecuted by the Bishop of London. While his Lordship lived, he protected him and his family, but as soon as Lord Rich died, the Bishop of London apprehended him, and sent him to the Gatehouse, for saying, that to keep the Queen's birth-day as a holy day, was to make her an idol. After Mr Wright had been imprisoned for several months, he petitioned the bishop to be brought to his trial, or admitted to bail; but all the answer which his Reverence was pleased to give, was, that he deserved to lie in prison seven years. This was cruelty worthy of a Bishop, who, instead of feeding his flock, did all that was in his power to devour them. This severity of the Bishop, made others have compassion upon the prisoner; and especially the keeper of the jail, who



gave him leave to go to visit his wife, who was lying in childbed. One Dr Ford meeting him, told the Bishop, who sent for the keeper, and demanded his prisoner; the keeper pleaded the necessity of the case, and said, that it was an act of humanity due to any man in the like circumstances; but the bishop threatened to complain of him to the Queen, and have him turned out of his employment. Mr Wright, hearing of the danger the keeper was in, returned immediately to prison, and wrote to the Lord Treasurer in his behalf, upon which the keeper was forgiven.

Aylmer was one of these men who, instead of being disposed to mercy by the distress of others, rather heightened his cruelty in proportion to the greatness of the affliction; other men's sufferings were sport to this Dignitary, and his greatest pleasure was to see other people in pain. He called Mr Wright before the commissioners, and examined him concerning the book of common prayer, rites and ceremonies, praying for the Queen, and the church, and concerning the established form of ordination of ministers. He was charged with preaching without a licence, and with being only a layman, because he was ordained by one of the foreign churches. The charges which were brought against him, he answered very pertinently; but all that he could say was to no purpose, for the Bishop would not allow his orders, and pronounced him a layman, incapable of holding a living in the church. This proceeding was expressly contrary to law; for the statute of the 13th Elizabeth, cap. 12. admits the ordination of a Scotch presbytery, or any of the reformed churches.

There

There were hundreds of ministers in the church at this time, who had no other ordination than what they had received from presbyterian churches; so this conduct of the Bishop of London, was a public declaration, that a great part of his own clergy were not ministers. There is an instance of a presbyterian licence approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated April 6th this year. The Archbishop commanded his Vicar-general to licence Mr John Morison a Scotch divine, who had no other ordination than what he had received from a presbytery in Scotland. The words of the licence are, " Since you the fore-  
 " said John Morison, about five years ago, passed in  
 " the town of Garret, in the county of Lothian, of  
 " the kingdom of Scotland, were admitted and or-  
 " dained to sacred orders, and the holy ministry, by  
 " imposition of hands, according to the laudable rite  
 " of the reformed church of Scotland; and since the  
 " congregation of that county of Lothian, is con-  
 " formable to the orthodox faith, and sincere reli-  
 " gion now received in this realm of England, and  
 " established by public authority; we therefore, as  
 " much as lies in us, and as by right we may, approving  
 " and ratifying the form of your ordination and pre-  
 " ment, done in such manner aforesaid, grant unto  
 " you licence and faculty, with consent, and express  
 " command of the most Reverend father in Christ,  
 " the Lord Edmund, by divine providence Archbi-  
 " shop of Canterbury, to us signified, that in such  
 " orders by you taken, you may, and you have  
 " power, in any convenient places in and through-  
 " out the whole province of Canterbury, to cele-

" brate divine offices, to minister the sacrament, &c.

" as much as in us lies; and we may *de jure*, and

" as far as the laws of the kingdom do allow."

This is a full testimony that the Archbishop thought the ordination of the presbyterian churches valid. The faith of the uninterrupted succession of Bishops, was at this time not considered as an article of the church's creed, nor was the exclusive privilege of ordaining clergymen entirely confined to diocesan Bishops. The growing ambition of the Dignitaries of the church in after-times, brought this article into fashion, that their power in spirituals might keep pace with the temporal dignity they were preferred to. The whole was a mere stroke of politics, to support the interest and dignity of the clergy, and had no more relation, in fact, to the Christian religion, than it had to the religion of Mahomet.

The severities of the Bishops, especially that of Aylmer, moved the compassion of many towards the Puritans; and some of the conforming clergy wrote in their favour to the Lord Treasurer. The justices of the peace of the county of Suffolk, were so affected with the case of the nonconformists, that notwithstanding of the Bishop of London's citation before the council, they wrote again to their honours, praying them to interpose in behalf of the injuries that were offered to divers godly ministers. They wrote in a very warm and interesting manner, and reflected severely upon the Bishops; who only for trifles persecuted many sober and godly men, when papists,

pists, who were the Queen most bitter enemies, were permitted to live in peace, and enjoy every privilege they could desire.

This address of the justices of Suffolk, 1583. produced a letter from the council to the judges of the assizes, commanding them not to give ear to malicious informers against peaceable and faithful ministers, nor to match them at the bar with rogues, felons, and papists; but to shew the world that they made a difference between those of another faith, and such as only differed about ceremonies, and yet diligently preached the gospel. This letter struck the judges, and made the Bishop of London return from his visitation in great discontent; this went like a thunderbolt to his heart, for it was depriving him of the only pleasure he appears to have had in this world. He does not appear ever to have been so happy as when he was exercising the greatest barbarities against his fellow creatures. The bishops at this time were possessed of a misanthropy, which it is hardly possible to conceive either heathens or savages possessed of: such professors of christianity were a disgrace to the cause thereof, and it is amazing how the writers of the lives of those tyrants, have had the effrontery, to represent them to posterity as christians and patrons of religion. An attachment to a party, has made our histories next to fables: for who can believe a writer, who in spite of the clearest evidence, affirms for fact, things that carry their own confutation in their very front.

Though

Though this letter to the judges of assize carried in it an appearance of favour to the Puritans, yet two independent ministers were executed this year for nonconformity. Their indictment was for spreading some of Robert Brown's books, wherein he denied the Queen's ecclesiastical supremacy. The two ministers who were executed, were Mr Elias Thacker and Mr John Copping; They first was hanged at Saint Edmundsbury, June the fourth and the latter two days after. It was a strange stretch of authority, to hang two men for publishing books, when the author of them was pardoned and set at liberty. They were sober religious men, and died with great fortitude and christian composure, their behaviour shewed that they were firmly persuaded of the truths for which they suffered, and they seemed to be possessed of the spirit and temper of the primitive martyrs. They acknowledged the civil supremacy of the Queen, and were dutiful obedient subjects; but could not in conscience allow her ecclesiastical supremacy, because they believed that there was no supremacy in the church, except that of Christ. The barbarity of these times will appear shocking to those who live in days of more humanity and politeness; but it is difficult to say, if religious people were as steady to their principles, but they would find barbarity of the same sort yet remaining in the nation. Men have learned a greater degree of compaisance, and rather than disoblige those who have power to hurt them, will comply with the times and depart from their principles.

Not-

Notwithstanding the zeal of the bishops against the nonconformists they suffered vice and immorality to advance without opposition; prophane swearing, drunkenness, revelling, gaming, and sabbath-breaking were suffered to pass without observation; nor were the spiritual courts troubled with any wicked transgressors of the divine law. At Paris Garden in Southwark, there were public sports on the Lord's-day; for great numbers of people, and so great were the crouds, which assembled on these occasions, that on the thirteenth of January, being Sunday, it happened that one of the scaffolds was so crouded with people that it fell down, by which many were wounded, and several killed, which made some remark that it was a just judgment from heaven, sent to punish them for prophaning the Sabbath-day. Amidst all this looseness and profanity, none of the Bishops gave testimony against it; nor exercised their pastoral authority to restrain it.

This year died the famous Barnard Gilpin, minister at Houghton, in the bishopric of Durham; he was born at Kentmire in Westmoreland, of an ancient and honourable family, and was educated in Queen's college, Oxford: he continued a papist during the reign of Henry, and was afterwards converted from popery by the lectures of Peter Martyr, in the beginning of the reign of Edward. He continued a papist till he was persuaded that the Pope was antichrist; but left the church of Rome as soon as he perceived he had the mark of the beast. He was nephew to Tonsil,  
Bishop

Bishop of Durham, who assisted him in his travels to Paris, Louvain, and other foreign parts. He continued long an advocate for the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, though he did not believe in transubstantiation. In the reign of Mary he was made rector of Essington, and afterwards of Houghton, where he laboured with great assiduity, and was often in great danger; but was preserved by his uncle, who was always averse to burning men for religion. The Northern parts at this time were ignorant and barbarous; they differed little from mere heathens in their manners and customs; they knew nothing of true religion, and were destitute of all kinds of politeness. Gilpin had compassion upon them, and at a great expence attempted their reformation: he visited the desolate churches of Northumberland, and travelled through Ridgedale and Tindale every year, preaching the gospel, and bestowing charities upon the poor. The whole influence of Tonstal could not protect Gilpin from the tyranny of Bonner; he had heard that Gilpin was a Lutheran in his principals, and preached the opinions of Luther; for this reason he sent for him to London: Mr Gilpin prepared himself for his journey, and ordered his servant to provide him a long shirt, for he expected to be burnt; but Queen Mary died before he arrived at London, which saved his life. Upon Elizabeth's accession he erected a grammar-school at his own expence, and allowed a maintenance for a master and an usher. Many learned men, since that time, have received their education at this academy: many  
gen-

gentlemen's children resorted to Gilpin, some boarded in the town, and others in his own house, and several poor men's sons were maintained and educated at his expence.

In the year one thousand five hundred and sixty, he was offered the bishopric of Carlisle, which he refused; for he would not accept of a charge which he could not himself fulfil: he was an enemy to pluralities, and thought no man should have any more churches than one. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, assisted him in the execution of his designs, and excused him from the habits and subscriptions. After the death of Pilkington, Barnes his successor, was offended at the popularity of Gilpin, and gave him some trouble: once when he was going his circuit through Riddisdale and Tindale, the Bishop sent for him to preach before him, which he excused in a very handsome manner; but when he returned, he found himself suspended for contempt, from all ecclesiastical employments. He was afterwards restored, and pursued his employment as usual. At last being worn out with labour and fatigue, and finding himself dying, he commanded all the poor to be brought before him, and took a solemn leave of them; he did the same to all his relations and friends; then giving himself up to God, he took his bed on the last of February, and died on the fourth of March, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. He was a pious and religious man, much given to hospitality and works of charity; he lived in this

Vol. II. H h world



world, as one who had his affections in heaven, and distributed those bounties of providence which were bestowed upon him, as a faithful almoner, to the necessities of such as were in want. He died much lamented by his friends, even his enemies praised him, and accounted him a saint. There were few of his disposition among the clergy who adhered to the church; he was averse to all sorts of persecution, and shewed in his whole conversation, a meek and humble temper of mind.

This year died Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury; he was born at Copland, in the county of Cumberland, and educated in the university of Cambridge. In the reign of Edward, he was reckoned a famous preacher, and was by that King appointed to a bishopric; in the reign of Mary, he went into exile, and continued till the accession of Elizabeth, when he was preferred to the see of London, and afterwards to York and Canterbury. He was for some time scrupulous concerning habits and ceremonies; and it is said, that he never heartily approved of them. Mr Neal, in his History of the Puritans, gives him a very droll character; he gives an history of his severities to the Puritans; and then in summing up his character, says, he was a man of a mild and moderate temper, easy of access, and affable even in his exaltation; but however affable he might be to others, he does not appear to have been affable to the Puritans after his preferment; for he persecuted them with great rigour. He appears to have been a calvinist in his

his principles, covetous in his disposition, arbitrary and tyrannical in the execution of his government. He sold leases and patents for liberal sums of money; he held the doctrines of Calvin, and persecuted the calvanists. After confessing all this, Neal declares he was mild and moderate, and his high stations did not make him proud, and that he was the best of Elizabeth's bishops.

Doctor John Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, was next preferred to the See of Canterbury, and was confirmed on the twenty-third of September this year. He had made himself famous in his controversy with the Puritans, and for this he was preferred to the See of Canterbury. He was no sooner advanced to that bishopric, than he heartily engaged to promote absolute uniformity, and the very first week of his preferment, published articles tending to advance uniformity, at the expence of several practical and moral duties. He ordered, that there should be no preaching, catechising, or praying in any private houses, provided there be any present besides the family;—that none perform any of those exercises unless he shall read the whole service, and administer the sacraments four times in the year;—that all in holy orders shall wear the habits prescribed; that none be admitted to preach except such as are ordained according to the manner of the church of England;—that all preachers shall subscribe to the Queen's supremacy, in all things ecclesiastical as well as civil;—to the book of common prayer, and the thirty-nine articles as agreed

upon and confirmed by parliament, in one thousand five hundred and sixty-two. These articles were enforced with all the rigour his grace could desire, which will appear abundantly evident in the whole of his administration.

The enforcing of these, articles caused a dispute among the lawyers; some alledged, that the Bishop had no power to enforce any articles without the broad seal, that his proceedings were an abuse of the prerogative and oppression of the subjects, that some of the articles were contrary to the statutes of the realm, which the Queen had no power to alter; that they were expressly contrary to stat. 13th of Elizabeth, cap. 12, and that Whitgift was for that reason liable to a premunire. The Bishop's lawyers defended his articles by the canon law, which the others affirmed, could only hold with regard to the church of Rome: it was said in defence of the Bishop, that the Queen had a power to publish articles, and that the Bishop had a licence from her to do what he did. This was denied in the present case, for the Queen had no authority to publish articles contrary to the established laws of the land.

Whitgift under the patronage of the Queen, paid no regard to the laws of the land, and in spite of all opposition proceeded to enforce his articles, and to suspend all who would not subscribe them. In Norfolk, Suffolk, Suffex, Essex, Kent, Lincolnshire, he suspended two hundred and thirty-three, besides a great number in the diocese of Peter-

Peterborough and the city of London. The ministers of Suffex had a favour granted them to subscribe with a protestation, that they did it as far as the articles were agreeable to the word of God, which was but a poor privilege, when the articles were contrary thereto. Many pinched their own consciences by subscribing and afterwards repented, and would have erased their names, but were not allowed to do it; they were all published to the world as absolute subscribers; which gave many of them great uneasiness. Many of the inferior clergy desired that the articles might be amended, for the sake of their brethren; but Whitgift was not so easily removed from his purpose, as to regard remonstrances or petitions. He was bent against all alterations in the liturgy, for one notable reason, namely, lest the church should be thought to have maintained error. This was downright popery, and very unworthy of any protestant; for it is as much as to say the church is infallible. His grace's arguments for subscribing the articles are no less curious; if you do not subscribe, says he, you do in effect say, that there is no true service of God, nor administration of sacraments in this land;—that there is no lawful ministry, nor any mark of a true church. This was sophistry worthy of a bishop, who meant no more than to serve his own interest, and aggrandize his name in the kingdoms of this world; for there may be several things in a church which every member have not freedom to subscribe, when yet they do not believe the church to want all the marks

marks of a true one. Universal conformity, in every particular point, is what has never yet been found in any large society, unless when men have concealed their sentiments for some worldly purpose; and those who expect that any church can be so perfect as to exhibit a perfect collection of articles, do not appear to have been acquainted with human nature: uniformity in every mode of belief and ceremony of religious practice, is what we never read to have happened since the end of the Jewish theocracy. All those churches who have urged uniformity, on pains of spiritual or temporal punishment, have no reason to cry out against the church of Rome.

The Archbishop this year received a little sound discipline, from a pamphlet entitled the *Practice of Prelates*, which charges him with the greatest cruelty, and affirms, that the Devil certainly influenced him to proceed in the manner he did. The author shews, that the ministers behaved in a godly and peaceable manner, and that the Archbishop had nothing to lay their charge, except that they were conscientious and sober men. His Lordship was not pleased with such admonitions, and would have willingly repaid the writer for his trouble; but as he could not discover him, he was obliged to defer his resentment till a proper occasion. Whitgift had his revenge afterwards, and made the whole body of non-conformists feel his resentment with a vengeance.

This year many supplications were made 1584. to the lords of the council, in behalf of the suf-

suspended ministers; but all the effect which they produced was, that the Archbishop increased their oppressions with their petitions, and obtained from the Queen a new ecclesiastical commission under the great seal, whereby the commissioners (of which the Archbishop was one) were empowered to enquire into all heretical opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumors or talks, slanderous words and sayings, contrary to the laws; they likewise were authorized to correct, reform, and punish all persons dwelling in places exempt or not exempt, who wilfully and obstinately absented themselves from the church and divine service established by law, by the censures of the church, or any other lawful ways and means; and, according to their discretions, to inflict penalties and forfeitures, according to the act of uniformity against the offenders. This court had full power to examine people upon oath, and put interrogatories to them, and in case they refused to answer to excommunicate, fine or imprison them, according to the pleasure of the judges. This court was called the high commission, because its authority extended over the whole kingdom, and was more extensive than the courts of the bishops. The legality of this court was called in question; but there was no contending with power, when it was engaged against law in the hands of arbitrary dominators. This commission was a mere inquisition, for the commissioners were empowered to use all means they could devise to find out what they called truth

truth, and might rack, and torture men if they so pleased. There were so many contradictions in this commission, that it would be an endless task to point them out. It is taken for granted, that the Queen had power to grant such a commission; and yet the whole tenor thereof, is expressly contrary to Magna Charta, which the Queen was bound to observe. The law (Magna Charta) declares, that no person is obliged to accuse himself; and yet Elizabeth gave power to the commissioners to examine men upon oath, and if they refused to answer such questions as were put to them, to punish them by any means they could devise. This was making the Queen's will, and that of her commissioners, superior to the fundamental law of the constitution. No person who reads the history of this Queen's reign, and is possessed with the smallest sense of liberty, and of the rights of mankind; but must be shocked at her conduct and the behaviour of her commissioners. Those who glory in the reign of Elizabeth, must first cease to be men, and divest themselves of all human feeling. The zeal of every honest man must kindle at hearing of the lives and liberties of his fellow citizens trampled upon by an arbitrary female, who knew no law, but that of her own wicked ambition. Tyranny and oppression now stalked like monsters, over all the land; so that people of all ranks, who would not give up the direction of their consciences to the Queen and the bishops, were punished according to the will and pleasure of

of the ecclesiastical commission. The laws of the land restrain all bishops in their courts to certain rules; they cannot imprison a clergyman, except for fornication or incest, and are liable to be prosecuted according to the law of the land, if they take cognizance of crimes beyond their jurisdiction; but this commission had full power to imprison, fine, and punish, according to the pleasure of the judges, all persons who were not disposed to answer such questions, as they should see meet to ask of them. The practice of imprisoning men for years, without bringing them to a trial, was manifest oppression; for the statutes limit the time of confinement before a trial. Every one of these Bishops who acted in that Commission, were according to the law of the realm, liable to be sued in an action of false imprisonment. The law says, that no subject shall be fined beyond his estate and ability; but the fines raised by this court were so arbitrary, that no man was sure of his property. The speaking of a rash word, or writing what that court called a libel, was enough to confine a man to perpetual imprisonment, or strip him of all his possessions. Such was the dominion of this hellish sanhedrim, that if any clergyman omitted a ceremony of the church in his public administrations, or if a parishioner bore an ill will at his minister, he might inform the Commissioners by a letter, that he was a suspected person; upon which a messenger was sent to his house to apprehend him, and to bring him before



the high commission; and what added to the oppression, the messenger had ten-pence a mile from every one he brought before the court.

To give the reader a view of the proceedings of this court, I shall in a few words set down their ordinary practice. When any person was brought before the Commissioners, he was committed to the clerk seven weeks, before he was brought to his trial. When the prisoner was brought to the bar, the court immediately tendered him the oath, to answer all questions to the best of his knowledge; by which he was obliged not only to accuse himself, but often to bring his relations and acquaintances into trouble. The party to be examined, was not acquainted before hand with the interrogatives, nor allowed to have copies of his answers, which were lodged in the hands of the secretary of the court against the day of trial. If the Commissioners could not convict him upon his own confession, then they examined witnesses, but never cleared him upon his oath. If they could not reach the prisoner by their ordinary jurisdictions as bishops, they then would sit as ecclesiastical commissioners; and if they could not convict him upon the statute law, they then had recourse to old ecclesiastical ones; so that the prisoner seldom knew by what law he was to be tried, nor how to defend himself. Sometimes they condemned men at once, and at other times they would oblige them to attend for a long time. Mr Brayne, of Cambridge was, upon refusing the interrogatories, condemned of contempt  
at

at once; and suspended, without ever being allowed to make the smallest defence according to the laws of his country; and his case was not singular.

There were certain articles framed by the Archbishop, for the service of the court, which no honest man could answer, without exposing himself to the mercy of his adversaries. \* When

I i 2

these

\* 1. *Objicimus, ponimus, &c. articulamus, i. e.* we object, put and article to you, that you are a deacon or minister, and priest admitted; declare by whom and by what time you were ordered; and likewise, that your ordering was according to the book in that behalf by the law of this land provided. *Et objicimus conjunctim de omni, &c. divisim de quolibet, i. e.* and we object to you the whole of this article conjunctly, and every Branch of it separately.

2. *Item, objicimus, ponimus, &c. articulamus,* that you deem and judge your ordering, admission and calling into your ministry to be lawful, and not repugnant to the word of God. *Et objicimus ut supra, i. e.* and we object as before.

3. *Item, objicimus, ponimus, &c. i. e.* that you have sworn, as well at the time of your ordering as institution, duty and allegiance to the Queen's Majesty, and canonical obedience to your ordinary and his successors, and to the metropolitan and his successors, or to some of them. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

4. *Item, objicimus, &c.* that by a statute or act of parliament made in the first year of the Queen's Majesty that now is, one virtuous and godly book, entitled the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, &c. was authorized and established to stand and be from and after the feast of the nativity of Saint John Baptist then next ensuing, in full force and effect according to the said statute, and so yet remaineth. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

5. *Item, objicimus,* that by the said statute, all ministers within her Majesty's dominions, ever since the said feast have been, and are bound to say and use a certain form of morning and evening prayer, called in the act, Mattins, Evening Song, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Administration of each of the Sacraments; and all other common and open prayer in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and none other, nor otherwise. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

6. *Item,*

these articles were presented to the Lord Treasurer

9. *Item, objicimus*, that in the said statute, her Majesty, the lords, temporal, and all the commons in that parliament assembled, do, in God's name, earnestly charge and require all the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves to the utmost of their knowledge, that the due and true execution of the said act might be had throughout their diocese and charge, as they would answer it before almighty God. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

7. *Item, objicimus, ponimus, &c.* that you deem and judge the said whole book, to be a godly and a virtuous book, agreeable, or at the least not repugnant; if not, we require and command you to declare, wherein, and in what points. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

8. *Item, objicimus*, that for the space of these three years, two years, one year, half a year; three, two, or one month last past, you have, at the time of communion, and at all, or some other time in your ministration, used and worn only your ordinary apparel, and not the surplice, as is required; declare how long, how often, and for what cause, consideration, or intent, you have so done or refused so to do. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

9. *Item, objicimus*, that within the time aforesaid, you have baptised divers, or at least one infant, and have not used the sign of the cross in the forehead, with the words prescribed to be used in the said book of Common Prayer; declare how many you have so baptized, and for what cause, consideration, or intent. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

10. *Item, objicimus*, that within the time aforesaid, you have been sent unto, and required divers times, or at least once, to baptize children, or some one child, being weak, and have refused, neglected, or at least so long deferred the same, till the child or children died without the sacrament of baptism; declare whose child, when, and for what consideration. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

11. *Item, objicimus, &c.* that within the time aforesaid, you have celebrated matrimony otherwise than the book prescribes, and without a ring, and have refused at such times to call for the ring, and to use such words in that behalf as the book appoints, and particularly those words, that by matrimony is signified the spiritual marriage unity between Christ and his church. Declare the circumstances of time, person, and place, and for what cause, intent, and consideration. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

12. *Item, objicimus, &c.* that you have within the time aforesaid neglected, or refused to use the form of thanksgiving or women, for some one woman after child-birth, according to the said book, declare the like

furor: Burleigh, and he had read them over, he wrote

like circumstances thereof, and for what cause, intent, or consideration you have so done, or refused so to do. *Et Objicimus ut supra.*

13. *Item, objicimus, &c.* that you within the time aforesaid, baptized divers infants, or at the least once, otherwise and in other manner than the said book prescribeth, and not used the interrogatories to the god-fathers and godmothers in the name of the infant, as the said book requireth; declare the like circumstances thereof, or for what cause, intent, or consideration, you have so done, or refused so to do. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

14. *Item, we do object,* that you have within the time aforesaid, used any other form of litany, in divers or some points, from the said book; or that you have often, or once, wholly refused to use the said litany: declare the like circumstances thereof, or for what cause, intent, or consideration, you have so done, or refused so to do.

15. *Item, we do object, &c.* that you have, within the time aforesaid, refused and omitted to read divers lessons, prescribed by the said book, and have divers times either not read any lessons at all, or read others in their places: declare the like circumstances thereof, and for what intent, cause, or consideration, you have so done, or refused. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

16. *Item, objicimus,* that within the time aforesaid, you have either not used at all, or else used another manner of common prayer or service at burial, from that which the said book prescribeth, and have refused there to use these words; we commit earth to earth, in sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life: declare the like circumstances thereof, and for what intent, cause, or consideration you have so done, or refused so to do. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

17. *Item, objicimus, &c.* that within the time aforesaid, you have advisedly, and of set purpose, not only omitted and refused to use the aforesaid parts, or some of them, of the said book, but also some other parts of the said book of common prayer, as being persuaded that in such points it is repugnant to the word of God: declare what other parts of the said book you have refused to use, for what intent, cause, or consideration. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

18. *Item, objicimus, &c.* that within the time aforesaid, you have at the communion and in other parts of your ministration, advisedly added unto, diminished, taken from, altered, and transposed, manifoldly at your own pleasure, sundry parts of the said book of common prayer; declare the circumstances of time and place, and for what intent, cause, and consideration. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

19. *Item,*

wrote a letter to the Archbishop, wherein he  
highly

19. *Item, objicimus*, That within the time aforesaid, you have advisedly, and of set purpose, preached, taught, declared, set down, or published by writing, public or private speech, matter against the said book of common prayer, or of something therein contained, as being repugnant to the word of God, or not convenient to be used in the church, or some thing have written or altered, tending to the depriving, despising, or defacing, of some things contained in the said book: declare what, the like circumstances thereof, and for what cause, or consideration, you have so done. *Et objicimus ut supra*.

20. *Item, objicimus, &c.* that you at this present do continue all, or some of your former opinions against the said book, and have a settled purpose to continue hereafter such additions, diminutions, alterations, and transpositions, or some of them, as you heretofore unlawfully have used in your public ministration: and that you have used private conferences, and assembled, or been present at conventicles, for the maintenance of their doings therein, add for the animating and encouraging of others to continue in the like disposition in this behalf that you are of: declare the like circumstances, and for what intent, cause, and consideration. *Et objicimus ut supra*.

21. *Item, objicimus, &c.* that you have been heretofore noted, defamed, presented, or detected publicly, to have been faulty in all and singular the premises, and of every, or some of them, and that you have been divers and sundry times, or once at the least, admonished by your ordinary, or other ecclesiastical magistrate to reform the same, and to observe the form and order of the book of common prayer, which you have refused or deferred to do; declare the like circumstances thereof. *Et objicimus ut supra*.

22. *Item*, that for the testification hereafter of your unity with the church of England, and your conformity to laws established, you have been required simply and absolutely, to subscribe with your hand, 1. That her Majesty under God, hath and ought to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons, born within her realm, dominions, and countries of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be; and that none other foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within her Majesty's said realms, dominions, or countries. 2. That the said book of common prayer, and of ordering bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that the same may be lawfully used, and you who do subscribe, will use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the sacraments,

highly disapproves of them, and compares them to the practice of the inquisitions. † The treasurers

ceraments, and none other. 3. That you allow the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, and set forth by her Majesty's authority; and to believe all the articles therein contained to be agreeable to the word of God: declare by whom, and how often, which hitherto you have advisedly refused to perform, and so yet do persist. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

23. *Item*, that you have take upon you to preach, read, or expound the scriptures, as well as in public places as in private houses, not being licensed by your ordinary, nor any other magistrate having authority by the laws of this land so to licence you: declare the like circumstances thereof. *Et objicimus ut supra.*

24. *Item*, *Quod Premissa omnia, &c. singula, &c. i. e.* that all and singular the premises, &c.

† I am sorry to trouble you so often as I do, but I am more troubled myself, not not only with many private petitions of sundry ministers, recommended for persons of credit, and peaceable in their ministry, who are greatly troubled by your Grace, and your colleagues in commission; but I am also charged by councillors and publick persons with neglect of my duty, in not staying your Grace's vehement proceedings against ministers, whereby papists are greatly encouraged, and the Queen's safety endangered.—I have read over your twenty-four articles, found in a Romish stile, of great length and curiosity, to examine all manner of ministers in this time without distinction of persons, to be executed *ex officio mere*.—And I find them so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests. I know your canonists can defend these with all their parties; but surely, under correction, this judicial and cononical sifting poor ministers, is not to edify or reform. And in charity I think they ought not to answer, to all these nice points, except they were notorious papists or heretics. I write with the testimony of a good conscience. I desire the peace and unity of the church. I favour no sensual and wilful recusant; but I conclude, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much favouring of the Romish inquisition; and it is a device rather to seek for offenders than to reform any.—It is not charitable to send poor ministers to your common register, to answer upon so many articles at one instant, without a copy of the articles or their

surers letter was so far from softening Whitgift, that he wrote a long letter to Cecil, vindicating his interrogatories, from the practice of the star chamber, and the court of the marches. The Treasurer found it was a folly, to contend with an obstinate persecutor, and therefore wrote him a short but severe letter, disapproving his conduct; telling him he really pitied those that were so sifted with his articles.

The Archbishop being afraid of offending the Treasurer, sent him two papers of reasons, on purpose to please him, one to justify the articles, and the other the manner of proceeding *ex officio*. In the first he affirms, that, by the ecclesiastical and common law, articles of enquiry may be administered, and have been ever since the reformation; and that they ought not to be compared with the inquisition, because the inquisition punished with death, whereas they only punished obstinate offenders with deprivation. In the latter he gives the following very strange reasons, for proceeding *ex mero officio*. 1. Says he, if we proceed only by presentment, and witnesses, then Papists, Brounists, and family men would expect the same measure. 2. It is hard to get witnesses against the Puritans, because most of their parishioners favour them, and therefore will not present them, nor appear against them. 3. There is

their answers.—I pray your Grace bear with this one (perchance) fault, that I have willed the ministers not to answer these articles, except their consciences may suffer them.

July 15, 1584.

W. Cecil.

is great charge and expence in examining witnesses, and sending for them from distant parts. 4. If Archbishops and Bishops, should be driven to use proofs by witnesses only, the execution of the laws would be partial, their charges in procuring and producing witnesses would be intolerable; and they should not be able to make quick enough dispatch with the sectaries. These are arguments worthy only of a Bishop, and that lying genius who abode not in the truth; they were far from satisfying the Lord Treasurer, and it is no wonder, for no persons who have the smallest regard for the laws of their country, and the civil and religious rights of mankind, but must despise in their hearts, such arguments, and their author. Common justice is certainly due to Papists, Brownists, or any other persons; and ought to be preferred to the ease of a few dignified drones, who minded nothing except feasting themselves, and devouring and fleecing their flocks. Whitgift must certainly have been in a state of madness or lunacy, when he composed the above arguments, if he imagined they could have any weight with a person of Cecil's understanding; for they are so destitute of common sense and reason, that every one who reads them, must proclaim the author a madman.

The lords of the council were likewise shocked at the barbarity of the Bishops towards the non-conformists, and wrote to the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, in their behalf. In their letter they reflect severely on the Bishops,



for suffering vice and immorality to pass without censure, when they were so zealous and cruel against sober religious men. This excellent remonstrance had no kind of influence upon Whitgift; his heart was steeled against all the feelings of justice, mercy and humanity, and his chief pleasure was that of persecuting those who differed from him in the smallest religious ceremony. Mr. Beale, clerk of the Queen's council, a man of much learning, and great piety, wrote a book shewing the injustice and unlawfulness of the Bishop's proceeding, and delivered it in manuscript into the Archbishop's own hands. This so offended his Grace, that he complained to the Queen and her council, and used all his interest to have Beale tried in the star chamber, and turned out of his place; but the court would not proceed upon his complaint. It is remarkable, that all the mercy which appeared in this reign towards the suffering ministers proceeded from persons of the lay character; few or any of the Bishops shewed them any compassion in their greatest extremity. A stranger to christianity, who had never heard of Bishops before, by reading the history of those times, would be ready to conclude they were devils, and that their religion was nothing else but the fumes of despair boiling from their tortured minds.

There was a conference this year obtained between the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester on the one part, and Dr Sparke

Sparke and Mr Travers on the side of the Puritans. This conference was held in presence of the Earl of Leicester, Lord Gray, and Sir Francis Walsingham, at Lambeth. The dispute was principally concerning what things were necessary to be reformed in the book of common prayer. This conference began comically, and ended without giving satisfaction to either party. Doctor Sparke desired that they might pray for the divine direction, before they began to dispute, and was going to proceed, but the Archbishop interrupted him, saying, he should make no prayers there, nor turn that place into a conventicle. His Lordship was not fond of prayer at any time, and he hated the thoughts of a conventicle, as much as he did preaching; Sparke could not have proposed any thing which was more disagreeable to Whitgift, than solemn exercises of this sort: the Archbishop's talents were not of this kind; his principal gift was that of making articles, and his leading passion tyranny and persecution. This conference lasted two days, and was very trifling.\*

K k 2

Aylmer,

\* The Archbishop open'd it with declaring, that my Lord of Leicester having requested, for his satisfaction, to hear what the ministers could reprove, and how their objections were to be answered, he had granted my Lord to procure such to come for that purpose, as might seem best to his good Lordship; and now I perceive (said he) you are the men, of whom the one I never saw or knew before (Doctor Sparke), the other I know well: let us hear what things in the Book of Common Prayer you think ought to be mended; you appear not now judicially before me, nor as called in question by authority for these things, but by way of conference; for which cause, it shall be free for you (speaking in duty) to charge the book with such matters as you suppose to be blame-worthy

Aylmer, Bishop of London, proceeded against the Puritans this year, with great rigour. Whilst Grindal was under disgrace, he greatly troubled the clergy of London, with new interrogatories and articles; often calling them three or four times in the year to an examination, and to renew their subscriptions, or sign new articles. He advised the heads of the university of Cambridge, to call

thy in it: Doctor Sparke replied, we give most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God, and to this honourable presence, that after so many years, wherein our cause could never be admitted to an indifferent hearing, it hath pleased God of his gracious goodness so to dispose things, that we have now that equity and favour shewed us, that before such honourable personages, as may be a worthy means to her excellent Majesty, for reformation of such things as are to be redressed most, it is now lawful for us to declare with freedom, what points ought to be reviewed and reformed, with our endeavours, because it concerns the service of God, and the satisfaction of such as are in authority; and for that the good issue depends on the favour of God. I desire, that before we enter any further, we may first seek for the gracious direction and blessing of God by prayer. At which words, framing himself to begin to pray, the Archbishop interrupted him, saying, he should make no prayers there, nor turn that place into a conventicle.

Mr Traver's joined with Doctor Sparke, and desired that it might be lawful for them to pray before they proceeded any further; but the Archbishop not yielding thereunto, terming it a conventicle, if any such prayer should be offered to be made, my Lord of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham, willed Doctor Sparke to content himself, saying they doubted not but that he had prayed already before his coming thither. Doctor Sparke therefore omitting to use such prayer as he had proposed, made a short address to God in very few words, though the Archbishop continued to interrupt him all the while.

The heads that the ministers insisted upon were, 1. Putting the apocryphal writings (in which were several errors and false doctrines) upon a level with the Holy Scripture, by reading them publicly in the church, when several parts of the canon were utterly omitted. This they said had been forbidden by councils, and particularly at the third Laodicea. The Archbishop denied any errors to be found in the

Apo-

call in all their licences, and expel all who would not wear the apparel, saying, that the folly that was bound up in the heart of a child, is to be expelled with the rod of discipline. In his visitation this summer he suspended thirty-eight clergymen in Essex, all men of great reputation for learning and piety; he said, that they should be white with him, or he would be black with them.

The Bishops and the high commission, proceeded in fining, depriving, and imprisoning the non-conformists; so that the History of the Church this year, is little more than an account of

Apocrypha; which led the ministers into a detail of particulars, to the satisfaction (says my author) of the noblemen. 2. The second head was upon baptism; and here they objected; 1. Against its being done in private; 2. against its being done by laymen or women; and, 3. Against the doctrine from whence this practice arises, viz. that children not baptized, are in danger of damnation; and that the outward baptism of water, saveth the child that is baptized; 4. Against the interrogatories, in the name of the child, which Mr Travers charged with arising from a false principle, viz. that faith was necessary in all persons to be baptized: he added, that the interrogatories crept into the church but lately, and took their rise from the baptism of those that were of age; from whence very ignorantly they were transferred to infants; 5. Against the cross, as a mystical rite and ceremony, and an addition to the sacrament, of human invention. Here they argued for the use of the cross, yet all agreed it ought be abolished, and Beza gives council to the ministers, rather to forego their ministry than subscribe to the allowance of it. After many words upon this head, my Lord of Leicester said, it was a pitiful thing, that so many of the best ministers, who were painful in their preaching, should be deprived for these things; 6. They objected to private communion; 7. To the apparel, and here they produced the judgment of Bishop Ridley at his degradation, as reported by Mr Fox, who said it was too bad to be put upon a fool in a play; 8. They objected to the books, allowing of an insufficient ministry, non-residence, and pluralities.

of the tyranny of the Bishops, and the sufferings of the Puritans. Mr Gifford, of Maldon, applied to the Lord Treasurer, who wrote to the Archbishop in his favour; but Whitgift told him that Gifford was a ringleader of the Puritans, and for that reason he was determined to bring him before the high commission. The people of the parish of Maldon, sent a petition in his favour, signed by fifty-two persons, whereof two were magistrates of the town, two justices of the peace, four aldermen, fifteen head burgeses, and the vicar. The Archbishop cut them all short, by telling the treasurer that he had rather die, or live in prison all the days of his life, than relax the rigour of his proceedings, by shewing favour to one, which might give occasion to others to expect the same, and undo all that he had been doing. The Archbishop was so bent upon his persecuting purposes, that no applications could prevail with him to abate the rigours of his proceedings. Mr Banister, a London divine, who had been long in prison, on pretence that he had been irregularly married, (for the Bishop had charged him with being married in an afternoon, before two or three hundred people, by Mr Field a non-conformist minister) complained to the council of the treatment which he had met with. The council were so moved with his case, that they sent a letter to his lordship, to have his grievances redressed.

The Bishop complained of his poverty, and that he was not able to repay the losses of one  
Beni-

Benison, which the council recommended to him; yet this poor Bishop died worth sixteen thousand pounds in money, which was a great sum at this time. His lordship complained that he was hated like a dog, and commonly stiled the oppressor of God's people, and that he was in danger of being mobbed at Maldon; and indeed it was no wonder, considering his cruelties towards the ministers in that place, who were dearly loved by their people. His behaviour towards those who were brought before him, was so rude and insulting, that it was sufficient to make every person his enemy, who loved decency, or delighted in mercy. One Mr Merbury, of Northampton, when brought before him, was addressed by him in this manner: Thou art an ass, thou art mad; by my troth I think he is mad; he careth for no body. Thou takest upon thee to be a preacher, but there is nothing in thee; thou art a very ass, an idiot, and a fool. This was the address of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in those days. Knave, rascal, and rogue, were words very familiar to this christian Bishop. Whitgift before his preferment, wrote in a different stile. In a book he published, entitled, a harbour for faithful subjects immediately after the accession of Elizabeth, he writes thus: "come off ye Bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands, be content with hundreds, as they be in other reformed churches, where be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priest-like, and not prince like." When the Bishop was put in mind of this, he replied,

replied, when I was a child I spake as a child, I thought as a child.

The clergy in the country were sadly oppressed; they were sent for from the remotest parts of the kingdom to Lambeth, where, after much expence and fatigue they were suspended, or deprived, because they could not agree to all the articles Whitgift was pleased to impose upon them. Mr Elliston, Vicar of Preston, made seven journeys to Peterborough, and ten to London, within the space of two years, besides several others to Leicester and Northampton at his own expence, after all was deprived for not subscribing.

The case of Mr Pager, Minister of Kilkhampton, in the diocese of Exon, was very moving. At his presentation he told his patron, that he could not in conscience use some rites and ceremonies appointed in the service book; the patron promised, that if he would accept of the charge, he should not be pressed to the precise observation of them. Upon this condition he accepted the charge, and was regularly inducted. But Mr Parmer, of Barnstable, envied his popularity, and complained of him to the high commission, because he did not mention the Queen's supremacy over both states; that he had said, the sacraments were dumb elements, without the preaching of the word; that he had also said, that Christ did not descend body and soul into hell; that the Pope might as well appoint the feast of Jubilee, as the feast of Easter and Pentecost; that holy-days and fast days were only the traditions of men; that

that organs were unprofitable in divine worship; that he said that ministers who did not preach, were dumb dogs, and that those who have two livings were knaves, and that he had called the late Queen a jezebel.

When he appeared before the commission, he was only articulated in common form, for not observing the book of Common Prayer, and the rites and ceremonies of the church; to which he made a very decent and sensible answer, partly denying what was laid to his charge, and partly shewing that the Bishops themselves did not observe the common prayer on all occasions. But his answer not giving satisfaction, he was suspended; and for venturing to preach after he was suspended, he was deprived. This honest man found that there was no more service for him in the church, and having a large family, he began to teach a school; but the commissioners would not allow him, without he would subscribe the articles, which he refused, and they shut up his school: he continued in this situation till Whitgift died, when he was inducted to the living of St Ann's, within Aldersgate.

Mr Travers was this year brought into great trouble concerning his ordination; he had been ordained at Antwerp; and on account of his gift in preaching, and great learning, was admitted as a domestic chaplain to Secretary Cecil, and lecturer at the Temple. Upon the death of Dr Alvey, the Master, Travers was recommended to succeed him; but the Archbishop interposed, and



declared, that he should not be admitted unless he would be reordained according to the order of the church of England : upon which he was set aside, and Mr Hooker was preferred. Mr Travers continued Lecturer for two years after this, and was then deprived of his lectureship and deposed from the ministry. The Secretary desired him to suffer himself to be reordained, but he refused, because he thought that it was condemning all the reformed churches as not being true churches, and likewise contrary to express act of parliament made in that present reign.

The tyranny of the Bishops, and the severities of the high-commission, instead of reclaiming the non-conformists, increased their number and strengthened their party : they grew more dissatisfied with the establishment, and pushed harder for a reformation. There was a book, which was in high esteem among them at this time, entitled, *Disciplina Sacra ex Dei verbo descripta* : the Holy Discipline of the church described according to the word of God. It was written first in latin by Mr Travers, and printed at Geneva, in one thousand five hundred and seventy-four, and was afterwards revised and corrected by Mr Cartwright and other learned men, at their synods. It was this year translated into English by Mr Cartwright, with an intention of being published ; but while it was printing at Cambridge, the copy was seized at the press, and by the authority of the Archbishop, ordered to be burnt as a factious and seditious libel. One copy was preserved, and found

found in Mr Cantwright's study after his death, and was reprinted in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-four, under a new title. It contains the sentiments of the Puritans concerning church discipline, and shews what were those alterations which they desired to be made in the established forms of church order.

There was another book written about this time, and privately dispersed among the people, entitled, An Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament, and certain of her Majesty's Injunctions and Canons, &c. The design of it was to shew, that the Bishops in their ecclesiastical courts had exceeded their power, and had broken the laws and statutes of the realm. A certain friend of the Bishops made an answer to this treatise; but was so much at a loss for arguments, that he was obliged to allow the truth alledged in the book, and rest all his reasoning upon the uncharitableness of the author, who had exposed religion through the sides of the Bishops. This appears to have been a very ancient way of defending a bad cause; for there are many instances among the clergy in those and former times, of complaints of infidelity and irreligion, when only their vices and wickedness were exposed. It has been frequently accounted the same thing with irreligion, to expose the wickedness of the clergy; and it is ordinarily their last shift to endeavour to make men believe, that the reason why some writers expose their sins is, because the writers themselves are enemies to christianity.

The parliament assembled on November the twenty-third, when the affairs of the nation were all in confusion on account of religious disputes. The Puritans despairing of relief from the clergy, resolved to apply to parliament for a reformation of church discipline. They offered three petitions to the house of commons, in which they craved that godly preachers might be set at liberty, that they be encouraged to continue in their ministry, and a speedy supply of able preachers be granted to destitute places. Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Edward Dymock, and Mr Gates, presented these petitions. Doctor Turner put the house in mind of a bill and book which had formerly been offered to the consideration of that assembly. The bill was entitled, An Act concerning the Subscription of Ministers, and proposed, that no other subscription be required than what was enjoined by the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth; and that the refusing other articles shall not be any cause for the Archbishops or Bishops, or any other persons having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to refuse any minister any ecclesiastical office. The book consisted of thirty-four articles, but was by the advice of the house, reduced to sixteen: five of them were against insufficient ministers, the other eleven related to different articles. This bill and petition was attended with an earnest supplication to the Queen and parliament, in the names of many thousands of people to consider their case, and grant them the benefit of the ordinances of the gospel,

The

The Bishop of Winchester in the names of the Bishops, formed a reply to this petition. He affirmed, that their prayer favoured of popular election, which was long since abrogated, and tended to great divisions, and to prejudice the patron's right; and if their petitions should be granted, the whole hierarchy would be in danger. That the suspended ministers were headstrong, rash, and contentious, and that it would be a perilous example to have sentences revoked, that had been passed according to law, except these ministers would yield. That the petition meant to cut off the oath *ex officio*, which was a considerable branch of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and very necessary when the parishioners are perverse, and will not complain of their ministers when they do not perform the service of the church according to law, much less bear witness against them; that the small value of ecclesiastical livings made pluralities and non-residence necessary, and that it was unreasonable in the Puritans to insist upon these points in their petition. The debates upon this last point went high, and a bill was ordered to be brought in against pluralities and non-residence, and for appeals from the ecclesiastical courts. In behalf of the bill it was said, that non-residencies and pluralities were *mala in se*, evil in their own nature, and answered no valuable purpose; but rendered the clergy indolent, and kept the people in ignorance, at a time when there were nine thousand parishes, and only three hundred preachers. The Archbishop had no other

ther relief, but to apply to the Queen; he therefore persuaded the clergy, assembled in convocation, to address Elizabeth, which they did in the most mean and abject manner. They represented themselves as persons in the greatest distress, on account of the bill which was then depending in the house of commons; and extolled her Majesty's prerogative, in the highest strains of flattery and adulation. They alledge, that it would lessen the revenues of the crown, hinder the study of divinity in the universities; that it would deprive men of the livings which they legally possessed, beggar the clergy, introduce an unlearned ministry, destroy the hospitality of cathedrals, and make way for confusion and anarchy. Their reverences seem to have had forgotten how many honest men they had reduced to beggary, by their cruelty and barbarity; an address of this kind shews the meanness of their temper, and the baseness of their hearts, who could complain before they were hurt, and yet had not the smallest degree of sympathy or compassion to their brethren in distress. The bill against pluralities, passed in the house of commons, and was sent up to the lords, where the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of Winchester, made long speeches against it, alledging that neither the cathedrals nor professors in universities could subsist without pluralities. To prove this point, they produced a list of small livings, according to the Queen's books. To this it was replied, that there were many suspended ministers who would be glad of the smallest

smallest of them, if they might enjoy them without molestation; however it would be better to find ways and means for the augmentation of small livings, than to suffer the people to die for want of knowledge, while the incumbents were indulged in ease and idleness. After much altercation, the bill was thrown out, through the interest of the court, and the influence of the Bishops.

The commons were so much offended at the loss of this bill, that they resumed the debate concerning the bill of petitions, and ordered several other bills to be brought in to humble the pride of the Bishops, and lessen the power of the spiritual courts. One bill was for swearing the Bishops in the court of chancery, and King's bench, that they should act nothing against the law of the land; another to reduce their fees; a third for liberty to marry at all times of the year; a fourth for the qualification of ministers, and a fifth for restoring discipline. These bills proposed such a reformation as terrified the whole bench of Bishops. They insisted upon a reformation of manners in the first place; and with regard to church order, it was required that twelve laymen should be present, at the examination of ministers, to assist the Bishop; that the canon law, and the spiritual courts should be abolished; and that all probates and testaments should be brought into the courts of Westminster-hall; that there should be a presbytery or eldership in every parish, which together with the minister, should deter-

mine

mine the spiritual business of the parish, with an appeal to higher judicatories in case of complaints. The bill concerning the qualification of ministers put Whitgift into such a fright, that he would not have been so terrified at a proposal to introduce the Alcoran. He immediately wrote a letter to the Queen, in such a stile as scarcely any person, in the full exercise of his reason and understanding, would have written. The meanness and absurdity thereof must appear visible to every person who reads it. This address of his grace, however, pleased Elizabeth, because it lodged all the power of altering religion in her hand, and gave her the sole prerogative to change or alter as she pleased. Her Majesty was the only lay person in the nation, who might presume to meddle in any religious affairs.

The Queen sent a severe reprimand to the commons, for meddling with her prerogative, and attempting what she had forbidden; this made them see their mistake in lodging so much power in the sovereign, as it was not easy for them now to restrain. The Puritans next petitioned the convocation, and after that the Archbishop for a reformation, or at least some indulgence to themselves; but all was in vain, the Archbishop would abate nothing, nor admit of the smallest departure from the establishment.

While the protestants in England were 1585. devouring one another, the papists were busy in encreasing the divisions, and adding to the flames of discord, which prevailed at this time.

time. They gathered so much courage from the divisions of the protestants, that they formed a plot to murder the Queen. This was discovered, upon which some of the principal authors fled; but one Parry was executed, who had engaged to kill the Queen, when she was riding abroad. The Pope had given these miscreants all the encouragement in his power; he had granted them a plenary indulgence, and remission of all their sins, with an assurance of heaven and happiness, when they should die. This was written from Rome, January the thirtieth, one thousand five hundred and eighty-four, and signed by Cardinal Como. It shews how far the papists at this time dared to proceed, and what a mean opinion they had of the protestants in England, when they could form such attempts in the very face of law and government. The parliament upon the discovery of this plot, made a severe statute against all jesuits and seminary priests, or any others who should make any attempts upon the life of the Queen, in consequence of the bull of excommunication issued by Pope Pius the fifth; and against any subject of England, who should go abroad for education, to any of the popish seminaries. This alarming state of affairs, though it affected the parliament, and gave them concern, did not move the Queen, and the Bishops to take any steps towards uniting the protestants among themselves. The Archbishops had been sore galled by the writings of the non-conformists; he therefore applied to the Queen to have the



liberty of the press more severely restrained, which he obtained, and published by the authority of the star Chamber, the twenty-third of June. in the twenty-eighth year of Elizabeth. It was framed by Whitgift who wrote a preface to it.

The non-conformists being now restrained from printing their defences at home, found means to publish their books abroad, and have them imported, which gave the Archbishop a great deal of uneasiness. He found his authority was despised, and his conduct arraigned notwithstanding all the caution he had used. Severe reflections on his conduct, and audacious lampoons on his proceedings were spread all over the nation, which made him both an object of hatred and ridicule, and provoked him to such a degree, that his life was a burden to him. This year the Puritans and the parliament agreed to reform the abuses which were done on the Sabbath-day; and for this purpose a bill was passed for the better and more reverend observation of the Sabbath-day. The Speaker recommended this to the Queen, but her Majesty refused to pass it, through a pretence that she would not suffer the parliament to meddle with matters of religion, which were her prerogative. The thing however appeared so reasonable, that without the force of any law, the keeping the Sabbath in a religious manner, grew into esteem with all sober people, and in a short time became the distinguishing mark of a Puritan.

Mr Cartwright returned home this year, for the recovery of his health; application was made for

for his pardon, but he was cast into prison as soon as he landed. His modest behaviour softened the Archbishop, that upon his promise to live peaceably and quietly, he was suffered to go at large. All the interest that was used for him by his friends could not obtain a licence for him to preach; but the Earl of Leicester made him Governor of the hospital of Warwick, where he was permitted to preach for some time, and enjoyed a salary of an hundred pound a year with a free dwelling-house.

Mr Travers and Mr Hooker had a controversy about this time concerning doctrine; the one was a strict Calvinist, the other of larger principles: they were both lecturers at the temple, and preached against one another; from this they proceeded to write against each other, and the controversy grew warm. Hooker had the Archbishop on his side, and was sure to gain the day, though the other was thought to have the better of the argument. Travers was forbidden to preach any more, by order of the Archbishop, and was accused of not being ordained by the church of England, and of transgressing the orders of the Queen. He made answer to these charges in a petition, to which Hooker replied, and the matter was left undetermined, and Mr Travers under the suspension of the Bishop.

The parliament assembled this year on the twenty-ninth of October, when the 1586. non-conformists presented another petition for relief. In this petition they set forth the dis-

mal situation of the people for want of the gospel; affirming, that the Bishops either did not preach at all, or so seldom, that many places had no preaching; that they were so incumbered with civil affairs, that they had no time to mind spiritual matters, and mingled the affairs of the church so much with those of the state, that it was impossible they could pay proper attention to the duties of their calling; that they made priests of the lowest of the people, and caused many to forsake their callings in which they had been brought up, for the sake of filthy lucre to serve in an employment, for which they were in no manner qualified. These and many other reasons were offered in this petition, why the parliament should interpose their authority for the relief of the nonconformists. Along with this petition, they presented a survey of several counties, containing the names of ministers, and livings they possessed, who neither resided upon their charge, nor were in any respect capable of doing their duty. Lastly, they proceeded to offer a bill to the house of commons for a further reformation of the church, and redress of grievances. All this had no effect; the convocation continued to sit after the parliament, and gave a subsidy to the Queen, contrary to the custom of the kingdom, which shewed the Puritans what they had to expect, when the power was lodged in such hands.

The Archbishop had now the press in his own power, and took care to restrain the Puritans from printing or publishing their grievances to the  
the

the world; while he allowed popish books to be scattered over the Kingdom, and granted licence to bookfellers to import them. This was altogether unfair and partial; for it was certainly no more than justice to suffer the people to hear both sides of the question. Whitgift appears to have been a greater friend of the papists than of the non-conformists, for he allowed them several favours which he refused to the others; even when they were contriving the death of the Queen, and some of them convicted this same year of a design to murder her. Ballard, a papist, and a few more were convicted on this account. Whether this was a true or a sham plot, is not easily learned from the history of these times; for such is the partiality of party writers, that they have frequently given false colourings to facts, when they had their own ends to serve, which makes it difficult to ascertain what is precisely the truth. The papists had been engaged in the practice of assassinations, and the policy of princes found it sometimes convenient to contrive sham plots and father them upon them, on purpose to cover certain designs which they meant to keep secret. At this time it was necessary for saving appearances to sacrifice a few Roman catholic's to the policy of the court, that they might with a better grace proceed in persecuting the Puritans. Ballard appears to have been a man of good understanding, and one who knew the controversies of those times with great accuracy. His observations on Whitgift's writings against Cartwright, which he made

made before Sir Francis Knollis, Treasurer of the Queen's household, are pertinent and just. He said, he would not desire a better defence of popery than the Archbishops writings against Cartwright, and his injunctions set forth in her Majesty's name; that if any men among the protestants lived virtuously, they were the Puritans who renounced their ceremonies, and would not be corrupted by pluralities. That unlearned, and reading, ministers were rather a furtherance than an hindrance to the catholic cause. That though the Bishops owned her Majesty to be supreme governor in causes ecclesiastical, yet they did not keep their courts in her name, and that though the names and authority of Archbishops and Bishops were in use in the primitive church, they forgot that they were then Lords or Magistrates of order only, made by the Prince, and not Lords of absolute power, ruling without appeal. This Roman catholic appears to have understood his subject much better than the Bishops, and has given his suffrage fairly in behalf of the Puritans.

The Puritans being wearied with applying to their superiors for redress of grievances, began to despair, and proceeded to form a plan of church order of their own. They held classical conferences every six weeks, and every half year provincial assemblies, and general assemblies once every year; among those who approved of this order, were Messrs Cartwright and Travers, Dr Knewstubs, Messrs Chark, Edgerton, Reynolds, Gardiner, Gifford, Barber, Spicer, Greenham, Payne, Nenner,

Nenner, Nield, Snape, Johnson, Nicholas, Dr Sparkes, Messrs Ward, Stone, Warkton, Lark, Fletcher, Lord, Scarmer, Rushbrook, Littleton, Oxenbridge, Seyntclere, Standen, Wilcox, Whitaker, Chadderton, Perkins, Allen, Edmunds, Gellibrand, Bradshaw, Harrifon, Massie, Hilderfham, Dod, Brightman, Cawdry, Rogers, Udal, Dyke, Wight, Paget and others, to the number of five hundred, all beneficed clergymen in the church of England, persons of good characters and able preachers, and many of them members of the university of Cambridge, where they had strong influence, and many friends.

This year Dr Wallard was called to an account for teaching, that our Saviour and his Apostles adopted the order of the jewish synagogue into the christian church, and designed it as a constant model of church government. He was ordered to make a public recantation, and suspended till he should perform it: he was also bound over in a recognizance of one hundred pounds for his good behaviour: many others suffered in the same manner and for the same causes. Mr Settle was summoned before the Archbishop at Lambeth, and charged with denying the article concerning the descent of our Saviour's soul into hell, or the place of the damned. He confessed that it was his opinion, that Christ did not ascend locally into hell, and that Calvin and Beza were of the same opinion. This put the Archbishop into such a passion, that he called him ass, dolt and fool. Mr Settle told his Lordship, that he ought not  
to

✓ to rail at him, seeing he was a minister of the gospel. What, said the Archbishop, dost thou think much to be called ass and dolt? I have called many of thy betters so. True, said Settle; but the question is, how lawfully you have done so? To which his grace replied, you shall preach no more in my diocese, and then sent him to the Gate house a close prisoner.

The Spanish invasion which began to 1587. threaten England this year, put some stop to the persecution of the Puritans, but complaints were universal all over the nation, for want of faithful preachers, and many petitions were sent to the Queen and parliament, for a supply of ministers to preach the gospel. Many of the suspended ministers, about this time, came to London, and sheltered themselves in the city; but to prevent their preaching in any of the churches, a commission was sent to all ministers and church-wardens, to forbid them any of the pulpits. The Puritans, notwithstanding all these discouragements, kept together, waiting patiently till providence should send them relief; they maintained their usual associations, and strengthened one another's hands by every lawful means they could devise. They agreed upon rules of church order, and appointed, that in all their sermons, they should endeavour to wipe of the reproach of schism which their adversaries had cast upon them. They declared, that private baptism was unlawful, and to use the cross in baptism superstitious. In another of their assemblies, they determined, that

that no man should take upon him *ministerium vagum*; that they who take upon them a cure of souls, should be called by the church whom they are to serve, and be approved by the class or some larger assembly; and if they shall find them qualified, they shall recommend them to the Bishop for ordination, provided they can obtain it without subscribing the Book of Common Prayer. In another provincial assembly they agreed, that the oppressions offered to the Puritan ministers, by the Bishops, and their officials, in the spiritual courts, should be collected and registered. This would have been a special means of preserving the history of the persecutions of those times, if it had been properly executed; but it does not appear that ever they put this plan in execution.

Mr Fox, the famous author of the Acts and Monuments of the church of England, died this year: he was a man of good learning, piety, and understanding, indefatigable in his application after every branch of knowledge which related to that great performance which he undertook. He was a person of liberal sentiments, and against every species of persecution; he collected his acts and monuments with great care; and though, in some instances, he may be mistaken, yet it does not appear, that he designedly perverted any evidence he received, either against his enemies, or in behalf of his friends. He was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and educated in Brazen-nose College, Oxford; he was tutor to the Duke of Norfolk's children, and was by him, in the reign of



Queen Mary, conveyed privately out of the kingdom. In his exile, he collected the materials of his work, which he published first in Latin, and afterwards translated into English, that it might be more generally useful. He was shamefully neglected by Queen Elizabeth, (who called him father) because he was a non-conformist, and never advanced to any higher preferment than a Prebend of Salisbury. He died in London, in the seventieth year of his age, and was buried in Cripplegate church, where a flat marble stone lies over his remains. His acts and monuments, are the best monument to his memory, and will shew his merit to future generations.

This year the controversy between the 1588. Bishops and the Puritans received a new turn. The first reformers, and all the Bishops, since the reformation, were satisfied, that the superiority of Bishops, above other church officers, was merely a political appointment, instituted for the sake of order, but not authenticated by divine authority. They held, that there were only two orders of church officers, namely, Bishops and deacons; and according to them, Bishop and Presbyter were two names for the same office; but the Archbishop's Chaplain, in a sermon which he preached at St Paul's Cross, on the twelfth of January, this year, maintained, that the Bishops of England were a distinct order from Priests, and had a superiority over them *jure divino*, and directly from God. This he affirmed to be a divine institution, though not expressed  
in

in so many words, yet plainly implied, and might be justly inferred, and to deny it was heresy. The absurdity of this piece was manifest to almost every person, and it is hardly possible, that he himself could believe it. Bancroft had his eye upon preferment, and it was necessary to say or do something to obtain it. To give an account of all the writings which have been published upon this controversy, would be to publish a volume of sophistry, which few plain people could understand. The reader will hear more of this point in the sequel of this History, and for that reason it shall be passed over at this time. Several complaints were made against it by both the clergy and laity; but Whitgift said, it did much good: he said, he rather wished that Bancroft's doctrine was true, than believed it; it was new doctrine to all the Bishops, but no way disagreeable to the pride of the metropolitan.

Mary, Queen of Scots, was beheaded last year, at Fotheringay castle, which alarmed all the popish princes, and made them threaten revenge upon Elizabeth. Among all these, the King of Spain made the chief figure on this occasion. He prepared a great and strong fleet, with an army to invade England, and to reduce it to the catholic faith. This Fleet had been three years in preparing, and was by the Pope called the invincible armada: it was well manned, and furnished with all sorts of instruments of torture, for the heretics in England. It made a formidable appearance, for the ships were very

large, and appeared like so many castles floating in the ocean; but Providence, which is greater than princes, and more powerful than Kings, dispersed this great fleet by a storm, so that few of the Spaniards returned to their own country to tell of their success.

This year died Messrs Sampson, Lawrence, 1589. and Humphreys, men of great esteem among the Puritans. Sampson is said to have been the means of converting Mr John Bradford to the protestant religion; he received orders from Archbishop Cranmer, and Mr Ridley, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-four, who dispensed with the habits at his request. He was first Rector of All-hallow's, Bread-street, and was accounted a famous preacher in the reign of Edward the sixth; but was, upon the accession of Mary, obliged to leave the kingdom, and flee to Strasburg, where he was highly esteemed by Tremelius, and the divines of that country. When Elizabeth came to the throne, he was offered the Bishopric of Norwich, which he refused, because he could not in conscience conform to the habits and ceremonies. He was afterwards installed Dean of Christ's church, Oxford, but was again deprived by Archbishop Parker, for non-conformity. he satisfied himself with the Mastership of an hospital in Leicester, where he lived and ended his days in peace. Humphreys was Professor of Divinity in Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was made Queen's Professor, in the reign of Elizabeth; he was afterwards President of Magdalen College

College and Dean of Gloucester, which was the highest preferment he ever arrived at. He was a great scholar and a good linguist, and understood divinity better than most in that age. He died in the sixty-third year of his age.

Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, died about this time; in his youth he is said to have been a good preacher, and was exiled for his religion in the reign of Mary. He was preferred afterwards successively to the Sees of Worcester, London, and York, and was a zealous stickler for conformity of all sorts in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He persecuted the Puritans in the severest manner, and called for the assistance of the secular arm to enforce his power. Whatever may be said in his behalf, by those who may praise a party, for sinister purposes, it is manifest, that he had all the outward appearances of a bad man; he said, he believed rites and ceremonies were not of divine institution, and were of very little service, and yet he persecuted all who would not conform to them with unrelenting cruelty, as far as his power could extend.

As long as there were any hopes of settling differences between the church and the Puritans, the controversy was carried on with some degree of temper; but after all hopes of agreement were at an end, the disputants loaded each other with reproaches and calumny. The Puritans were now excluded from all privilege of the public printing-offices; all the presses were shut against them; they

they had therefore now no opportunity of vindicating themselves, or of defending their cause through the ordinary channel. To remedy this disadvantage, they procured a private one, and carried it from place to place, for fear of being discovered. It was first set up at Mouldley in Surry, near Kingston on the Thames, afterwards at Fawley in Northamptonshire; from thence to Norton, from thence to Coventry, from Coventry to Woolston in Warwickshire, and from thence to Manchester, in Lancashire, where it was discovered. Many sarcastical performances were printed by this press, and dispersed over all the kingdom, which very much incensed the Bishops against the Puritans. One which is entitled *Martin Mar-prelate* provoked them highly; it is very severe against their reverences, and places them in such attitudes, as highly offended their modesty. Who was the author of this droll performance could never be learned; it was supposed to be the work of a club who associated together to revenge themselves on the Bishops, for their cruelty towards the non-conformists. There are many true, and a great number of humorous sayings in that performance, and according to the language of the times, it is not badly written. The writers indeed appear to have been angry, and it must be allowed, that the Bishops had given them some occasion, who never did any thing to please them; but it is as manifest, that the clergy were as much chagrined at this performance, as the writers were offend-

offended at them. If Whigift could have discovered the writers of this satire, he would have made them pay soundly for the freedom they used with the gentlemen of the black cloth. Besides this book, there was another, entitled, *Theses Martinianæ*, dedicated to Whigift, under the name of John Kankerbury, containing a great many severe things against his reverence: for which he gave the author no thanks, as he did not love to hear his own praises sounded in such a manner as the author was disposed to sound them. There was also a very droll performance adressed to Doctor Cooper, Bishop of Winchester; the title of it is *Ha' ye any work for the Cooper?* The author pays his respects to the Bishop very humorously, and says some sarcastical things not unfit for the taste of a dignitary of those times. The cobbler's book, and another with the title, *Ha' ye any more work for the Cooper?* were performances of the same taste, and contain many severe reflections against the Bishops, and the subscribing clergy. The press was seized, when the first of these performances were printing, with several other pamphlets unfinished, containing matter of the same import. The friends of the church were under a necessity to try the weapons of ridicule, when they could not find an opportunity for using their ordinary artillery, but their humour is but heavy, and their wit low; the matter of fact is, they could not find so many objects of ridicule among the Puritans, as they found among them, which rendered it  
more

more difficult to write in the same manner. Pappe with an hatchet, Pasquil's apology, an almond for a Parrot, a counter cuff given to Martin Junior, are all written in the same taste, and contain some humorous things, but breathe too much of persecution to make the reader laugh.

To put a period to these pamphlets, the Queen sent a letter to the Archbishop, ordering him to make strict enquiry after the printing press, and issued forth a proclamation, for bringing all seditious libels and books, whether written or printed before the ordinary, or one of the privy council, and prohibits all her subjects from keeping such books in their custody, as were contrary to the laws which confirmed the established religion: as soon as this printing press was discovered, the Archbishop wrote to the Lord Treasurer, to prosecute the persons in whose possession it was found; but begged it might be done by the Lords of the Council, and by the ecclesiastical Commissioners, because they had suffered much reproach by supporting the government already, which had received many wounds through their sides. Accordingly those, who had supported the press, were deeply fined in the star chamber, and others were executed for publishing what were called libels.

The Archbishop, in his next visitation, framed twenty-two articles of enquiry; upon which the church-wardens of every parish were to be examined upon oath. According to these articles, they were to swear that their minister was con-  
for-

formable in all things, to the orders of the church, otherwise to impeach him; and to declare whether they knew of any of their neighbours, or fellow parishoners, who were common swearers, drunkards, usurers, witches, conjurers, heretics; any man that had two wives; or woman that had two husbands; whether they knew of any that went to conventicles, or meetings for saying prayers in private houses; any that were of age, and did not receive the sacrament three times a year. These articles were so like articles of inquisition, that Sir Francis Knollys, when he read them, sent them to the Treasurer, calling them articles of inquisition, highly injurious to the royal prerogative; but his Grace proceeded in spite of all opposition.

This year Mr Udal suffered severely, on supposition of being the author of one of 1596. the pamphlets published against the Bishops, entitled, the Dialogue; he had been minister of Kingston on Thames, and was silenced by Dr Hone, Official of the Bishops court. He was called by the people of Newcastle upon Tyne; who wanted a minister to do duty among them; but after he had resided a year among them, he was sent for to London, by Lord Hunsdon and the Lord Chamberlain, to appear before the ecclesiastical commissioners. The commissioners were, Lord Cobham, Lord Buchhurst, Lord Chief Justice Anderson, Dr Young, Bishop of Rochester, Mr Fortescue, Mr Egerton, the Queen's Solicitor, Dr Aubery, and Doctor Lewin. The examina-



tion, turned chiefly upon those books which had been published against the church and the Bishops; which they wanted to fix upon Udal as the author. The first step of their proceedings after the examination, was, to prove Mr Udal author of the book entitled, the Dialogue. They observed a very preposterous method in attempting to do this; the pretended witnesses were not brought into the court, but only their examinations, which the Registerer swore to: this was contrary to the usual method of trial, which requires, that the accused and accusers be brought face to face; but they were determined to find Udal guilty at all events. He made an excellent defence, and answered with great calmness and readiness of thought, and observed great decency in all his replies. He was required to sign a submission the court had drawn up for him, which he refused; upon which sentence of death was passed upon him, and the execution thereof publicly ordered; but next morning by private orders from the court, he was reprieved till her Majesty's pleasure was further known. In a few months after he died in prison through grief.

The Puritans, though they disapproved of these satyrical pamphlets, were made to suffer severely on account thereof. Mr Cartwright, as the chief of the Puritans, was suspended from his charge in Warwick hospital, and summoned to appear before the high commissioners, who committed him to the fleet prison, with several others of his brethren. The commissioners wanted to discover

ver where they held their associations, how often, and who were present at them; what matters were treated at them; who corrected or set forth the book of discipline, and who had subscribed and submitted to it. Mr Cartwright answered to these and sundry other interrogatories which were put to them, which the civilians accounted insufficient, so he remained with the rest of his brethren in prison.

On the thirteenth of May this year, they were brought before the star chamber, 1591. which was a court composed of certain Noblemen, Bishops, Judges, and Counsellors, of the Queen's appointing, to the number of twenty or thirty, with her Majesty at their head, who was sole judge when present; the rest of the members being only to give their opinion by way of advice, which she might disallow or not as she pleased. In the absence of the Queen, the determination was by a majority, the Lord Chancellor having the casting vote. The proceedings of this court were expressly contrary to the laws of the land, for they neither proceeded by jury nor the statute law, and yet their determinations were as binding-as acts of parliament. The tyranny of this court was intolerable; almost all ranks of persons felt its oppressions; its fines were so arbitrary and exorbitant, that few ever came before it but were ruined.

When Mr Cartwright and his brethren came before this court, the Attorney General reproached them bitterly for refusing the oath, and when

Mr Fuller, Counsel for the prisoners, offered to answer in their behalf, he was ordered to sit down and be silent. From the star chamber, they were sent back to the high commission, where Bancroft had a long dispute with Mr Cartwright concerning the oath; from thence they were remitted back to the star chamber, and a bill was preferred against them, consisting of twenty articles, condemning their associations as unlawful meetings. To this they answered, that their associations were lawful and orderly, and in nothing contrary to the laws of the realm; that they exercised no jurisdiction, nor moved any sedition; but transacted all their affairs with all due respect to the Queen and the church; as for the oath they did not refuse it in contempt of the court, but because they believed it contrary to the law of God and nature. This answer not being satisfactory, they were sent back to prison, where they remained for two years without any further trial or being admitted to bail. King James of Scotland interceded for them, in a letter directed to the Queen, the twelfth of June this year, and many others also wrote letters in their behalf, but without success; for the Archbishop would not consent to their enlargement, unless they would acknowledge the church of England to be a true church.

All applications proving ineffectual, they 1592. resolved at last to petition the Queen, which they did. This petition bears date in April one thousand five hundred and ninety-two. In this representation, they answer all the charges

charges brought against them concerning the oath, schism, rebellion, supremacy, excommunication, concerning their conferences and singularity, with great calmness and modesty. Though persecution had much ruffled their tempers, yet there is nothing in their petition but what is decent, grave, and sober. Mr Cartwright was some time after this set at liberty, upon his promise to live quietly, and was restored to his hospital at Warwick, where he spent the remainder of his days in quietness, without any further disturbance; but the rest of his brethren continued under suspension, and their families exposed to want and indigence, and many of them ready to starve. Some of them were suspended for seven years, some for five, others for four, and many for two years: during which time they were exposed to great want, hunger, and distress, all which they suffered with great resignation and submission to the will of providence.

The proceedings of the high commissioners, made their authority at last to be called in question. Mr Cawdery, Minister at Luffingham, in Suffolk, had been suspended by the Bishop of London, for refusing the oath *ex officio*: but because he did not submit to his Lordship's sentence, he called him before the high commissioners, who deprived him for non-conformity and deficiency of learning, and gave away his living to another, though Mr Cawdery was one of the most learned clergymen and best preachers in that country, and offered to give proof of his learning before his judges. He at last appealed to the court of exchequer,

chequer, and served a *subpœna* upon the Chaplain who possessed his living: here the jurisdiction of the high commission was tried before all the judges. Dr Aubery confessed, that their proceedings were contrary to the statute *primo Eliz.* but was established upon the canon law, which was still in force. The issue of the affair was, the court confirmed the sentence of the commission, and Cawdery and his family were suffered to pine away in beggary and want. This bold stand which Mr Cawdery made, staggered the Archbishop so much, that he declined the business of the high commission, and afterwards sent his prisoners to the star chamber.

Mr Morrice, Attorney of the court of wards, and Member of Parliament, wrote a learned treatise, to prove that no prelates or ecclesiastical judges have any authority to compel any subjects of the land to take an oath, except in causes testamentary or matrimonial; this he proved from scripture, the authority of councils, the practice of the Heathen Emperors, and the decretals of the Pope, and lastly from the laws of the land. Dr Cosins answered this performance, and Morrice had a reply prepared, but the Archbishop would not suffer him to publish it. This was the method the Archbishop took in putting a speedy end to controversies, which he knew would expose his own error, and shew the world the absurdity of his conduct.

This year some of the Ministers who were under confinement, took the oath *ex officio*, and discovered

covered their classes, with the names of those who were present at them. This brought many of their brethren into trouble, and exposed them to the tyranny of the Bishops, and the high-commission court. They attempted to vindicate themselves, which they did with no satisfaction either to their friends or adversaries; their adversaries looked upon them as mean spirited tools to their tyranny, and their friends accounted them betrayers of their brethren and the cause of religion, which they had espoused.

The friends of the church embraced every opportunity to reproach the Puritans; they were not satisfied with taking away their means of life, but endeavoured also to load them with all the calumny they possibly could invent. Three ignorant enthusiasts, Haket, Coppinger, and Arthington, had about this time published several treasonable and blasphemous opinions; Hacket pretended he was *King Jesus*, and had authority to set up an empire in the room of the Queen's, who he said was no longer Queen of England; he defaced her Majesty's arms, and stabbed her picture through with a dagger in the house where he lodged; when he was apprehended, he confessed every thing they desired him, and pleaded guilty at his trial, declaring he was moved by the spirit of God so to do; he was hanged, and died raving mad. Coppinger starved himself to death, and Arthington was pardoned. The extravagances of these mad enthusiasts were imputed to the whole body of the Puritans; and it was

was given out, that the Puritans, by means of these frantic madmen, endeavoured to stir up the people to rebellion; though it was never made appear, that any of the Puritans conversed with them after they embraced these notions, or approved of their conduct. But such was the cruelty of these times, that it was not accounted sufficient to deprive men of every temporal enjoyment, unless they could also ruin their reputations and take away their good names.

The parliament assembled this year, on the second of February, and received a message from the Queen to redress such popular grievances as were complained of within their own counties; but to leave all matters of state, to her and her council, and all matters relating to the church, to her and the Bishops. This shews the arbitrary disposition of Elizabeth, and the meanness of her parliament, which could submit to be dictated to by an aspiring female, who meant to enslave the nation, and render her parliament despicable.

The parliament of England during this reign, was a mere cypher, which could do nothing but by the direction of the Queen and her council; the privy Counsellors who were in the house, acted as dictators to the rest, and nothing was done but what was agreeable to their will and pleasure. Messrs Wentworth and Broomly had moved in the house, to address the Queen to name her successor; she presently sent for them and committed them to prison, where Wentworth remained for many years, when it was moved in the house

house to address the Queen for the release of their members, it was answered by those of the privy council who were present, " that her Majesty had committed them for causes known to herself ; that the house must not call the Queen to account for what she did of her royal authority ; that the causes of their restraint might be high and dangerous ; that her Majesty did not like such questions, nor did it become the house to deal in such matters."

Mr Attorney Morrice made a bold attempt on this occasion : he moved the house to enquire into the proceedings of the Bishops in their spiritual courts, and how far they could vindicate their inquisition, their subscriptions, their binding the Queen's subjects to their good behaviour contrary to the laws of God and of the realm, their compelling men to take oaths to accuse themselves, and upon their refusing, to degrade, deprive, and imprison them at pleasure, and not to release them till they had complied. He likewise offered two bills to the house, one against the oath *ex officio*, and the other against illegal imprisonments, which last he prayed might be presently read. Sir Francis Knollys seconded the Attorney, and said, that in his opinion these abuses ought to be reformed ; and that if the Bishops had acted against law, they were in a *premunire*. Several others supported this motion, but the courtiers opposed it, and as soon as the Queen heard thereof she sent for the Speaker, and commanded him to tell the house, that it was wholly in her power to call,



to determine, to assent or dissent to any thing done in parliament; that the calling of this was only that such as neglected the service of the church, might be compelled to it by some sharp laws, and that the safety of her Majesty's person and realm might be provided for; and that it was not meant that they should meddle with matters of state or causes ecclesiastical; that she wondered they should attempt a thing so contrary to her commandment; that she was highly offended at it, and that it was her royal pleasure that no bill touching any matters of state, or causes ecclesiastical, should be there exhibited. At the same time Mr Attorney Morrice was seized on in the house, by a Serjeant at Arms, discharged from his office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, disabled from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept for some years in Tuthbury castle. The commons of England at this time were not possessed with the spirit of liberty, otherwise they would not have submitted so tamely to the insults of an arbitrary court, which arrested their members for freedom of speech, and committed them to prison; which prohibited their redressing of grievances in church and state, and called for their bills out of their house and cancelled them. These were such acts of arbitrary power as none of Elizabeth's ancestors assumed, and which cost one of her successors his crown and life.

This pusillanimous parliament, instead of asserting their own rights, and the liberties of the people, stand recorded for one of the severest acts of oppression

pression that ever was made by the representatives of a free people. They passed an act, entitled, *An act for the punishment of persons obstinately refusing to come to church, and persuading others to impugn the Queen's authority in ecclesiastical causes.* It is therein enacted, that if any person above the age of sixteen, shall obstinately refuse to repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, to hear divine service, for the space of one month, without lawful cause; or shall at any time, forty days after the end of this session, by printing, writing, or express words, go about to persuade any of her Majesty's subjects to deny, withstand, or impugn her Majesty's power or authority, in causes ecclesiastical; or shall dissuade them from coming to church, to hear divine service, or to receive the communion according as the law directs; or shall be present at any unlawful assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, that every person so offending; and lawfully convicted, shall be committed to prison without bail, till they shall conform and yield themselves to come to church, and make a declaration of their conformity. But in case the offenders against this statute, being lawfully convicted, shall not submit, and sign the declaration within three months, then they shall abjure the realm, and go into perpetual banishment; and if they do not depart within the limited time by the quarter sessions, or if they return at any time afterwards without the Queen's licence, they shall suffer death without benefit of clergy. By this act

the case of the noneconformists was worse than that of common felons, for the benefit of clergy was no denied them. This statute was intended against the laity as well as the clergy, and was attended with many evils and mischiefs to the whole nation : many families were forced to flee their country, and some persons were put to death as in cases of treason, and others were persecuted as the authors of seditious libels, and pamphlets.

Some of the puritans who were not so strict as the rest, made a shift to conform, and came to church after common prayer was over, and received the sacraments in particular churches, where there was some latitude allowed them : by this they imposed upon their consciences, and enjoyed some temporal ease for a season ; but the above act bore heavy upon the strict and conscientious party, who renounced all communion with the church in word and sacraments, as well as in common prayer and ceremonies. These were called Brownists and Barrowists, from their leaders, and were prosecuted without mercy. This party were chiefly Independents, and could not in conscience acknowledge any church to be a new testament one, except such as copied from the apostles of Jesus Christ, and observed the same order and discipline which was plainly pointed out in the sacred writings. They had by this time increased to a considerable number, and Sir Walter Raleigh declared in parliament that there were not less than twenty thousand divided into separate congregations in Norfolk, Essex, and the neighbourhood of London. Among this

this party there were several learned men, and persons of great worth and eminence; such as Mess. Smith, Jacob, and Ainsworth. The latter of these was one of the most learned men of that age, and perhaps there has not been a divine of greater learning since his time. In London there was a considerable congregation of this denomination, who formed themselves into a church; they chose one Mr Francis Johnson for their pastor by the common suffrage of the brethren, Mr Greenwood for their doctor or teacher, and Mess. Bowman and Lee deacons, and established church order and discipline, according to the plan of the first churches. They proceeded to baptize children without godfathers and godmothers, and baptized them by sprinkling water upon their face, using the ordinary form of words according to the institution. They administered the Lord's supper in the following manner: They placed five white loaves upon a table, and after the pastor blessed them by prayer, he broke them, and delivered some of them to the people, and the deacons delivered the rest. They used the words of institution, 1 Cor. xi. 24. and in conclusion sung a hymn, and made a collection for the poor. When they received any person into their communion, they made them promise that they would walk with them so long as they did walk in the ways of the Lord, and as far as might be warranted by the word of God.

This congregation, which was obliged to assemble in different places to conceal themselves from the Bishop's officers, was at last discovered on the Lord's day at Islington, and fifty-six of them were sent prisoners

prisoners to the several gaols about London, where they were confined for a long time. They confessed when they were examined, that for some years they had met in the fields in summer, at five o'clock in the morning on the Lord's day, and in the winter in private houses; that they continued all day in prayer and expounding the scriptures; that they dined together, and after dinner made a collection for the poor, and sent the remainder to their brethren in prison.

Their adversaries charged them with many extravagancies concerning baptism, marriage, and lay-preaching, &c. from which they vindicated themselves in a very clear and solid reply. The Archbishop persecuted those people so cruelly, that they were laid under necessity to present a supplication to the Lords of the council, wherein they give their reasons for disapproving of the hierarchy, and vindicate their own conduct, and that order of church discipline which they practised in their churches: this they did with so much strength of argument and simplicity of stile, that none of their enemies were able to answer them. The privy council dropt their petition, and left them in the hands of the high commission. These people were persecuted in a most cruel manner; many of them were kept in prison for four or five years, without being brought to any trial; where they turned sick and died of lingering distempers, under all the agonies of hunger and disease. No petitions in their favours were regarded, nor the smallest compassion shewed to them under

Under all their distresses, though all the prisoners in all the gaols about London, presented a petition signed by fifty-nine, to the Lord Treasurer, in a most humble manner, representing their distresses, and the hardships they were exposed unto, yet no relief was granted to them, nor any notice taken of their petition.

Mr Barrow, one of the independents, was about this time brought to his trial, and examined by the Archbishop on several articles, concerning the Lord's prayer being used in churches? Whether forms of prayer might be used? Whether the common prayer was idolatrous and superstitious? Whether the sacraments of the church are true sacraments and seals of God's favour? Whether the laws of the church are good? Whether the church of England is a true church? Whether the Queen is the supreme governor of the church, and may make laws for it? Whether a private person may reform if the Prince neglects it? Whether every particular church ought to have a presbytery? To all which he answered in the negative, except the last two, which he answered in the affirmative. He was again sent back to prison, and when he required copies of his answers he was refused them.

He was next examined before the Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Buckhurst, and the Bishop of London, at Whitehall, where he found twelve of his brethren in the same situation with himself, but was not allowed to speak to them. He was called into another room, where  
he

he kneeled down at the end of a table, and was thus addressed by the Lord Treasurer. Why are you in prison? he answered, upon the statute against recusants. Treasurer, Why will you not go to church? Barrow, Because I think the church of England established by law, not a church of Christ, nor their manner of worship lawful. After a long debate the Treasurer said, you complain of injustice, where have you been wrong'd? Barrow, In being kept in prison without a trial, and exposed to misery by a close imprisonment contrary to law. The Archbishop said, he had matter to call him before him for an heretic. Barrow replied, that you shall never do; I may err, but heretic, by the grace of God, I will never be. It was observed, that he did not pay so much reverence to the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, as to the temporal Lords, the Chancellor asked him if he did not know these men, pointing to the Bishops. He replied, that he had good reason to know them, but did not own them for Lord Bishops. He was asked by what name he would call the Archbishop; he replied, that he was a monster, a persecutor, a compound of he knew not what, neither ecclesiastical nor civil, like the second beast spoken of in the Revelations. Upon which the Archbishop rose out of his place, and with a frowning countenance said, My Lords, will ye suffer him? So he was pulled from his knees and carried away.

Mr Greenwood was likewise examined before the Archbishop, the Bishops of London and Winchester,

chester, the Lords Chief Justices, the Chief Baron, and the Master of the Rolls. The questions which were put to him, were much of the same nature with those which were asked Barrow, and were answered much in the same manner. On the twenty-first of March, Barrow, Greenwood, Belot, gentlemen; Daniel, Studly, Girdler, and Robert Bowlle, fishmonger, were indicted at the sessions in the Old Bailey, upon the statute of the twenty-third of Elizabeth, for writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the Queen and the government. This indictment was false, for they had only written against the church; but this was a contrivance of Whitgift, to throw the reproach of their death upon the civil magistrate. They were all condemned, but afterwards Belot, Bowlle, and Studly were pardoned; but Barrow and Greenwood were executed at Tyburn. They died with great resolution, and expressed great piety at their death, which confounded their adversaries; they prayed devoutly for prosperity to the Queen, and success to her government, that Dr Rynolds, who attended them, was amazed at their christian behaviour. These two Independents fell a sacrifice to the malice and cruelty of the Archbishop, who from the time of his preferment, delighted in blood and persecution. In reading the conduct of this savage Bishop, one cannot help observing, that if he acted from the principles of his religion, that it must have been as far different from the religion of Jesus Christ, as that of Ma-



homed; the protestant Bishops have no reason to blame the papists and call them cruel; for never Bishops of any religion behaved with more severity than Whitgift and his predecessor. Their very names will be held in detestation to all future ages, by every man who fears God and believes the gospel of Jesus Christ.

1593. About six weeks after Whitgift had offered this sacrifice to his cruelty and superstition, Mr John Penry, a Welch Divine, was executed for the same crime in a cruel and barbarous manner. He was reputed a pious and learned man, and had been very serviceable in preaching the gospel in Wales, where he had done much good; but all sorts of merit were totally forgotten, provided persons were not obedient to the Bishops, and ready to do every thing which they pleased. Whitgift shewed no mercy to any, except such as were disposed to be dupes to his ambition, and ready to obey him in all things. Mr Penry was condemned on account of some papers found in his custody concerning religion. The charge brought against him was never proved; but poor Penry was to die at all events, and the Archbishop was the first who signed the warrant for his execution. The warrant was sent immediately to the Sheriff, who the very same day, erected a gallows at St Thomas Waterings, and while the prisoner was at dinner, sent his officers to him to tell him to make ready, for he must die that afternoon; accordingly he was carried in a cart to the place of execution: when he came thither

thither, the Sheriff would not permit him to speak to the people, nor make any profession of his faith towards God, or his loyalty to the Queen; but ordered him to be turned off in a hurry about five of the clock in the afternoon, on the twenty-ninth day of May, one thousand five hundred and ninety-three, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. The Independents behaved with such fortitude, resolution, and composure, and with so much meekness at their executions, that the court began to be ashamed of hanging men for sedition, who, with their last breath, expressed their respect for the Queen, and regard to the laws of the land.

These executions brought great odium upon the Bishops and the High Commissioners; for all men believed that they were the cause of all the persecutions which had been so violently carried on against the Puritans. It is reported that the Queen herself blamed them, and was highly displeased at them, when she heard how nobly these sufferers behaved, and what expressions of loyalty they made at their deaths: death was therefore changed for the future into banishment, and the Puritans were prosecuted upon a statute of the thirty-first of Elizabeth, to keep the Queen's subjects in obedience. Upon this statute many useful persons were banished from their native country, and sent to shift for themselves among strangers, in unknown countries. The gaols at this time were generally all cleared, and great numbers of Her Majesty's good subjects were sent out of the kingdom, be-

cause their consciences would not allow them to fall down to worship the dagon of the Queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, or serve their maker according to the designs of superstition, contrary to the plain dictates of revelation.

This law affected the Papists as much as it did the Brownists, though the Queen expressed more tenderness to the one than she did to the other: her Majesty appears either to have loved or dreaded her Roman catholic subjects, and would not allow their consciences to be teased, as she allowed the high commission to tease her protestant subjects, by virtue of the oath *ex officio*. It is not easy to account for Elizabeth's conduct in this particular, for at the same time that the papists were continually plotting mischief against her government, and threatening destruction to her person, she shewed conspicuous instances of her clemency towards them, when she expressed an unrelenting severity towards the Puritans, against whom nothing rebellious was ever proved.

1594. This year the controversy concerning episcopacy began to be agitated with great zeal. Several champions came forth in defence of a cause which had so many emoluments annexed to it, and tended to enrich its votaries with such goods as the passions of men at first instance desire. The Doctors Bilson, Bancroft, Bridges, Collins, Soam, and Adrian Sarari a Spaniard, were the advocates for episcopacy; to whom Beza, Fenner, Morrice, and Bradshaw replied.

But the most celebrated performance on the church

church side of the question, was Mr Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. This is accounted the most learned defence of the church of England that ever was written. To give my reader a distinct view of this controversy, I shall transcribe a few of Hooker's maxims, and set down those replies which have been made to his principles. The chief principles upon which he establisheth his plan are, (1) That though the holy scriptures are a perfect standard of doctrine, they are not a rule of discipline and government. (2) Nor is the practice of the apostles an invariable rule or law to the church in succeeding ages, because they acted according to the circumstances of the church in its infant and persecuted state. (3) Neither are the scriptures a rule of human actions so far as whatsoever we do in matters of religion, without their express direction or warrant is sin, but many things are left indifferent. (4) The church is a society like others, invested with powers to make what laws she apprehends reasonable and decent, or necessary, for her well-being and government, provided they do not interfere with or contradict the laws and commandments of the scriptures. (5) Where the scriptures are silent, human authority may interpose: we must then have recourse to the reason of things, and the rights of society. (6) It follows from hence, that the church is at liberty to appoint ceremonies, and establish order within the limits above-mentioned; and her authority ought to determine what is fit and convenient. (7) All who are born within the confines of an established church, and are baptized

tized into it, are bound to submit to its ecclesiastical laws; they may not disgrace, revile, or reject them at pleasure; the church is their mother, and has more than a maternal power over them. (8) The positive laws of the church not being of a moral nature, are mutable, and may be changed or reversed by the same powers that made them: but while they are in force they are to be submitted to, under such penalties as the church in her wisdom shall direct. These are the leading principles upon which Mr Hooker established his plan of ecclesiastical polity. Those on the other side of the question denied all these maxims of Hooker, and endeavoured to shew, (1) That the scriptures contain not only a perfect standard of doctrine, but a perfect rule for order and discipline to the church for ever. (2) That the apostles did not act according to the infant state of the church, but by divine direction and inspiration, laid down a perfect platform and model of government for all future churches; and the christian religion, with respect to doctrine, discipline, and order, was perfected when revelation was compleated. (3) That the church differs from all other societies with regard to its power and laws, having no authority to add either a new doctrine or new rule of discipline, because Christ has claimed this honour to himself, and declared his infinite wisdom by giving such a perfect system of doctrine, and church order, as never can need amendment till he come again; that Patriarchs, Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Canons, and Officials are

are absurd, because there is no mention made of them in the new testament, which represents the church as a spiritual body, having all her ordinances, privileges, and censures of a spiritual nature. (4) To bring or keep men into the church by civil pains and punishments such as fines, imprisonments, banishments, fire and sword, is contrary to the nature of that spiritual influence which works by argument and rational conviction, and tends to fill the church with hypocrites and dissemblers. (5) That it is inconsistent with the principles of the reformation, to affirm, that all persons should remain within the confines of that church in which they were born and baptized; and are bound to submit to its ecclesiastical laws, under such penalties as the church in her wisdom shall direct; for if this is the case, why have all the protestants forsaken the church of Rome? Upon these principles of Hooker, there can be no right of private judgment, but every individual must believe as the church believes, however far she may depart from the truths of revelation. This discretionary power which Hooker gives to the clergy, (for they are the church according to him) makes any thing lawful which they are disposed to command; and upon this principle, the church of Rome has by far the better of the church of England. (6) It has been replied, that men, when they have worldly interest in view, are not properly qualified to make laws for others, because their interest is ready to preponderate, and to dispose them to form a discipline rather carnal than spiritual. In

an age where the rites of private judgment are so clearly understood, the absurdity of Hooker's principles, will appear manifest to every person who has not extensive temporalities in his view; and there is not, perhaps, one in the whole bench of Bishops, but would be directed from his own feelings, if change his situation, to condemn Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.

Aylmer, Bishop of London died this year, of whom mention has been made in the former part of this history. He was born in Norfolk, and educated in Cambridge; he was an exile in the reign of Mary, and suffered several hardships for religion. In his younger years he was inclined to puritanism; but after he was preferred to a bishopric, he became a strong advocate for the hierarchy, and a bitter persecutor of his former friends. He grew very covetous when he grew old, and was very lax in his morals; he frequently played at bowls on the Sabbath afternoon; and often expressed himself at his game, in such language, as very much exposed his character. Mr Stripe, in his history of his life, calls him a learned and pious Bishop; but certainly, however learned he might be, it does not appear that he was pious, when he could, in such an open manner, profane the Sabbath-day by vain, needless diversions. The writers of lives, are something like the writers of romances; they want to extol their heroes by all means in their power, and are not so much disposed to give a true character of a man, as to represent him in as advantageous a light as possible;  
this

this was by no means fair, for the design of history is to publish facts, and not embellish any character beyond truth.

Dr Fletcher, Bishop of Worcester, succeeded Aylmer in the see of London: he <sup>1595.</sup> began his visitation with articles of enquiry to the church-wardens concerning the preachers; such as, Whether they prayed for the Queen, as supreme head over all persons and causes within her dominions, ecclesiastical as well as temporal? Whether they were learned, frequented conventicles, or commended the new discipline, or taught innovations? Whether they spoke against any part of the common prayer, or did not administer the sacraments in their own persons at certain times of the year? By this manner of proceeding, he soon again filled the prisons which had been lately cleared. It appears, that at the close of this year there were eighty-nine prisoners for religion in the Marshalsea, Newgate, the Gatehouse, Bridewell, the Fleet, the Compter, the White Lion, and the King's Bench prisons, of whom twenty-four had been committed by the high commission, and the rest by the council and the Bishop's courts. This new Bishop did not long enjoy his preferment, for he fell under disgrace with the Queen for marrying a second wife, and broke his heart through pride, and died.

Bancroft succeeded him, who was a violent enemy to the Puritans, and a zealous defender of the rights of the Bishops. The persecution encreasing daily against the Brownists, made them flee the country in great numbers, and settle in Holland, where many of their leaders were gone before them, and were



allowed by the states to erect churches, after their own pattern, at Amsterdam, Arnheim, Middleburgh, Leyden, and several other places. It was from these independent churches that the Independents in America took their rise; for a colony was transplanted from these Independents to New England, where numbers of their successors still remain, and profess the same religion.

One Dr Bound published this year a treatise concerning the sabbath, wherein he maintains that all christians are obliged to devote the seventh part of their time for the worship of God; that christians are as much obliged to rest on the Lord's day, as the jews were bound to rest from their labours on the Mosaic sabbath, because the commandment concerning rest is moral and perpetual; and that it is unlawful to follow our studies or worldly business on that day, or to use recreations and pleasures which are lawful on other days, such as shooting, fencing, and bowling. This book was received with great avidity by the people, and was the occasion of a wonderful reformation. The Lord's day, which used to be profaned by interludes, may-games, morrice dances, and other sports, began to be kept more exactly, especially in corporations. The Puritans embraced this doctrine, and distinguished themselves by spending the sabbath in religious exercises, either in public, or privately in their families. The ruling clergy exclaimed against this, as a restraint upon christian liberty, and tending to eclipse the authority of the church in appointing other festivals. The Archbishop was greatly offended with this book, and  
ordered

ordered all the copies to be called in, by his letters, and officers at synods and visitations, and forbade it to be reprinted: the Lord Chief Justice Popham did the same thing; and both of them declared, that the sabbath doctrine neither agreed with the doctrine of the church nor with the laws and orders of the kingdom; that it disturbed the peace of the commonwealth and church, and tended to schism in the one, and sedition in the other: but notwithstanding this caution, the book was still read privately more than ever, and was the occasion of doing much good.

About this time there arose a new controversy. Hitherto all the protestant divines, whether Puritans or others, appeared to be of the same sentiments concerning doctrines of faith, but now a party started up all of a sudden, which were for changing the received opinions concerning predestination, perseverance, free will, effectual grace, and the extent of our Saviour's redemption. The articles of the church were hitherto supposed to agree with the doctrines of Calvin, but these divines insisted that they were neuter, and left the subscriber at liberty to take either side of the question. The Puritans all maintained that the articles were calvinistical, and inconsistent with any other interpretation: the greatest part of the church divines were also of this opinion: but these new projectors reckoned the Calvinists old-fashioned, and called them by the name of Doctrinal Puritans.

One Mr Barret, of Caius College, Cambridge, was among the first who started this controversy:

in a sermon to the clergy he declared himself against the doctrine of Calvin concerning predestination, and falling from grace, and expressed himself with much severity against Calvin, and advised his hearers not to read his works. For this he was summoned before the Vice-chancellor and Heads of Colleges, and obliged to retract, according to a form prescribed by his superiors; which he read in such a manner as shewed that he only complied to save his place in the university. Barret at last turned papist, and gave up the protestant religion altogether. The high church party and the Roman catholics took part with Barret, and his opponents took sides with the Puritans, which was like to produce a new division in the church. To end this controversy, the heads of the university sent the Doctors Whitaker and Tyndal to Lambeth, to consult with the Archbishop and some other learned men upon these points, who at length concluded upon nine propositions, since known by the name of the Lambeth articles, which all the scholars in the university were obliged to conform to. The articles were these following.

- (1) " That God from eternity has predestinated some persons to life, and reprobated others to death. (2) The moving cause of predestination to life is not foreseen faith or good works, or any other commendable quality in the persons predestinated, but the good-will and pleasure of God. (3) The number of the predestinated is fixed, and cannot be lessened or encreased. (4) A true, lively, and justifying faith, and the sanc-
- tifying

"tifying influence of the spirit, is not extinguished,  
 "nor does it fail, or go off either finally or to-  
 "tally. (5) They who are not predestinated to  
 "salvation, shall be necessarily condemned for their  
 "sins. (6) A justified person has a full assurance  
 "and certainty of the forgiveness of his sins, and  
 "of his everlasting salvation in Christ. (7) Saving  
 "grace is not communicated to all men; neither  
 "have all men such a measure of divine assistance  
 "that they may be saved if they will. (8) No  
 "person can come to Christ unless it be given him,  
 "and unless the father draw him; and all men are  
 "not drawn by the Father that they may come to  
 "Christ. (9) It is not in every one's will and  
 "power to be saved."

These propositions were drawn up and consent-  
 ed to by Whitgift, and the Bishops of London  
 and Bangor, and a few others: they were sent to  
 Dr Hutton, Archbishop of York, and Young,  
 Bishop of Rochester, who subscribed them. The  
 Queen intended to have stifled this controversy  
 in its beginning, for she was not satisfied with  
 the Archbishop's determinations; but one Dr Ba-  
 ro, a Frenchman, offended her highly: in a ser-  
 mon which he preached before the University, he  
 asserted, (1). "That God created all men accord-  
 "ing to his own likeness in Adam, and conse-  
 "quently to eternal life, from which he rejects  
 "no man, but on account of his sins. (2). That  
 "Christ died for all mankind, and was a propiti-  
 "ation for the sins of the whole world, original  
 "as well as actual, the remedy provided being as  
 " exten-

"extensive as the ruins of the fall. (3). That  
 "the promises of eternal life made to us in Christ,  
 "are to be generally and universally understood,  
 "being made as much to Judas as to Peter."

For these propositions he was summoned before the Vice-chancellor, and the heads of houses, who examined him by several interrogatories, and commanded him peremptorily to abstain from all controversies in his lectures for the future. Baro used all his influence with the Archbishop and Secretary Cecil, to keep his place in the University; but was obliged soon after to leave it and retire to London. The inquisitorial spirit prevailed much in those days; so that every party who once obtained power, endeavoured to square the consciences of all others according to their own sentiments, or deprive them of all the temporalities which they enjoyed, and were in their power to dispossess them of.

1596. Another trifling controversy arose this year concerning our Saviour's descent into hell. It had been the received doctrine of the church of England, that our Saviour's soul descended locally into the state of the damned, that he might there triumph over satan, as he had done before over death and sin. Mr Broughton attempted to prove, that Christ only went into the state of the dead, or the invisible world, and that his soul did not descend locally into hell. His arguments satisfied the greatest part of the people; but Bishop Bilson said, "That no scripture text affirmed the  
 "death of Christ's soul or the pains of the damned,  
 "to

“to be requisite in the person of Christ, before he  
 “could be our ransom, and the saviour of the  
 “world: yet he maintained the local descent of  
 “Christ into hell or the territory of the damned.”  
 This controversy, as it was very unprofitable, ended without any satisfaction to either party, though the majority seemed to take sides with Calvin’s opinion, which affirmed, that Christ suffered the pains of hell, and finished his sufferings upon the cross. Almost all the Puritans were of this opinion.

The Non-conformists were this year grievously scandalized by one Mr Darrel. <sup>1597.</sup> ✓  
 This Darrel was a great enthusiast, and pretended to cast out devils; he believed by the power of prayer, the devil might be cast out of persons who were possessed. He seems to have mistaken some epileptical disorders for real possessions of satan, and having his mind warped with notions of the power of his own prayers, attempted to engage satan, whom he thought transformed into the figure of convulsion fits. He was accustomed to regiment great numbers of well meaning people in a body, and attack the devil in form by prayer and fasting, and when the violence of the distemper abated, they believed that they had baffled the devil.

Mr Darrel was deposed from his ministry, and sent prisoner to the Gate-house, where he wrote an apology, to shew that people in these latter days may be possessed with devils, and that by prayer and fasting, the unclean spirit may be cast out. What came of him after this is uncertain.

The

The Bishops had now transferred the persecution of the Puritans from themselves to the temporal courts, and they were now indicted at the assizes, and tried at common law. This in some measure removed the odium from the Bishops, and fixed the reproach of persecution upon the judges of assize, and other temporal judges. Judge Anderson prosecuted the Non-conformists with great fury, and abused them upon their trials with most scurrilous language. It was usual with him to rank them with felons, and to give them the names of rogues, villains, and rebellious knaves.

Archbishop Whitgift was busy at this time concerning elections for the ensuing parliament, which was to meet on the twenty-fourth of October. He wanted to have the house of commons filled with such members as would be at the devotion of the court, and favourable to the projects of the Bishops. This was more than was consistent with the character of an ecclesiastic, who should mind heavenly and not temporal things; his chief aim was to exclude all Puritans from coming into the house, lest by their opposition to his schemes, they should mar the success of his intentions concerning the profits of the church, and should insist upon the reformation of abuses, which he was no wise disposed to agree to. Notwithstanding all the care of the Archbishop, several bills were brought into the house for regulating several abuses in the spiritual courts, such as licences to marry without bans, excessive fees, frivolous citations *ex officio*, and excommunications for small matters, such as

two-pence and three-pence. The Archbishop had no other method to overcome these, but by procuring a message from the Queen, forbidding them to interfere with her prerogative. Elizabeth referred these matters to the convocation; for she was not disposed to proceed in church affairs by statutes; for, in this case, none but the parliament could repeal them; she loved rather to proceed according to the canon law, which she could confirm or alter at her pleasure. The convocation drew up some regulations with respect to a few frivolous matters, which the Queen confirmed by her letters patent, in the fortieth year of her reign; but these did but little good, and were never intended for any real advantage. Elizabeth's chief intension, in all her proceedings, was always meant, more to secure her own prerogative, than to promote the happiness of her people.

The oppression which the people suffered from the spiritual courts was intolerable, which put them upon removing their causes into Westminster-hall, by obtaining prohibitions to stop the proceedings in the Bishops courts and the high commission. Whitgift was alarmed at this, and drew up some queries, to be considered by the temporal judges, touching prohibitions, that seeing ecclesiastical authority is as really vested in the crown as well as temporal, whether the Queen's temporal authority should any more restrain her ecclesiastical, than her ecclesiastical should her temporal? and seeing so many, and so great personages, with some others, are trusted to do her

1598.



Majesty's service in the ecclesiastical commission, whether it be convenient, that an offender, ready to be censured, should obtain and publicly throw into court a prohibition to delay justice, and disgrace those who served freely without all fee therein? But notwithstanding all that the Archbishop could do, the number of prohibitions encreased every year, the nobility and gentry being too wise to subject their estates and liberties to a number of artful civilians, who proceeded upon principles which no body understood except themselves, and were of very uncertain meaning, and contrary to the statute laws of the realm.

1599. The Puritans now enjoyed some ease, the Bishops began to fear the death of the Queen, (who was now in an ill state of health) and dreaded the accession of her heir. James had, on some occasions, signified his respect for the Puritans, and as there were above fifteen hundred non-conformist clergy at this time in the nation; they suspected, that his Majesty, when he came to the throne, would resent the ill treatment which they had given the Puritans, and put the deprived ministers in their places. For this reason they behaved with some more moderation than they had done in times past; and the Puritans remained in quiet, in hopes of being recompensed when a change should happen. The year one thousand six hundred ~~and sixty~~ passed over, without any thing remarkable happening; but Elizabeth's last parliament, which assembled in one thousand six hundred and one, renewed their attacks upon the ecclesiastical courts; a bill was brought in

in to examine into Bishops leases, and to disable them from taking fines; another was brought in against pluralities and non-residents, and a third against commissaries and archdeacons courts. Many complaints came to the house against the proceedings of the ordinaries, *ex mero officio*, without due presentments, and against the frequent keeping of their courts, so that the church-wardens were sometimes cited to two or three spiritual courts at once; complaints were made of their charging the country with quarterly bills; of the great number of apparitors, and petty sumners, who seized upon people for trifling offences, and many other grievances tedious to mention. The Queen would not suffer the house to debate these matters, but referred them to the Archbishop, who wrote to his brethern the Bishops to endeavour to reform the above grievances as much as possible, which he said had produced so many complaints in parliament. There was another bill brought into the house for punishing those who voluntarily absented themselves from church, but this miscarried, nor with any inclination of the Archbishop, who very much approved of it.

1602. The Queen was now grown very infirm, her spirits decayed through a wasting of her constitution, and partly by seeing herself neglected by some of her favourites, who were now ready to pay their court to her successor, upon whom their hopes or fears were placed. This threw her in a state of melancholy, attended with a drowsiness and numbness in all her limbs; which was followed with loss of appetite;

✓ and all the marks of an approaching dissolution : upon which she retired to Richmond, where she languished for some time, and died March the twenty-fourth, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth year of her reign. It is not easy to draw her character from the portrait given her by historians; for as some have been her enemies, so some have been her friends to excess. The history of her reign affords the best materials for drawing her character: she was a Princess of great capacity, and knew her interest well; few could over-reach her in politics, and perhaps never one excelled her in cunning and duplicity; she knew how to conceal her own designs, and discover other people's intentions to a great degree; she was tolerably eloquent, and enforced her speeches with uncommon authority; she knew she was a Queen, and made others understand it likewise; there was a positiveness in her manner, which shewed that she would be obeyed. She had the art of managing parties, and knew how to destroy those she did not love, without discovering she had any hand therein. With regard to religion, it does not appear that she was sincere in professing any form thereof; for she always made it subservient to her interest and the ends of civil policy; she defended the Protestants abroad and persecuted them at home, within her own dominions; she was, on many occasions, severe to both Papists and Puritans; her hands were stained with the blood of both, and for the most part without any cause. The conspiracies which historians affirm were formed against her, except that of the popish Princes abroad,

abroad, on account of which they make apologies for her persecuting so many of her subjects, appear to have been more imaginary than real, and seem rather to have been political contrivances of her court to cover certain designs, than real attempts of her enemies against her life. The statutes made during her reign against Non-conformists, for refusing to submit to her ecclesiastical supremacy, are lasting monuments of her tyranny. She seems to have thought that men's consciences were given them for no other reason but to bend to the will of Princes, and to submit to every arbitrary dictate of a superior. Her subjects rather admired her for the success which attended her government, than loved her in their hearts. They all agreed that she was a great Princess, and venerated her royal person, but none have given sufficient reasons to prove that they thought her good. The high church allow that she was covetous when she plundered the church revenues, and the Non-conformists have declared that she was a severe persecutor of honest men for conscience sake. The glories of her reign are so tarnished with bloodshed and oppression, that none who understand and love the liberties of mankind, can read her history but with disgust. Her taking away the life of Mary Queen of Scots was inhospitable and barbarous, and every apology which her friends have made for her conduct in this particular, serve only to demonstrate the aggravation of her guilt, and shew their own partiality. The history of her reign sufficiently declares, that these draughts of her character are just, and partizans may judge of them as they think proper.

## B O O K V.

1603. **W**HEN King James the First ascended the throne of England, the hopes of the Puritans were raised to an high degree. He had expressed himself warmly in their favour when he was only King of Scotland, and now they expected that they would feel the influence of his government in a benign manner. James had, in the general assembly of the church of Scotland, publicly thanked God that he was King of the purest church in the world; and expressed his disapprobation of the English form of worship, calling it an ill said mass in English. This made the Non-conformists believe, that seeing he was now advanced to the crown of England, he would patronize that form of worship which he had formerly so highly commended. The Bishops were afraid that he would alter the established forms of religion, and set up that of presbytery in the room thereof; they therefore addressed him with great submission, and extolled his wisdom in the highest strains of flattery and adulation. James was fond of prerogative, and the Bishops encouraged his views, and assisted his claims; he found them a more tractable sort of creatures than the Scotch Presbyterians, and was highly pleased with their cringing and submission. He now began to repent that he had so highly extolled the kirk of Scotland, and shewed a manifest inclination towards episcopacy. This new  
King,

King, though he was called Solomon by his flatterers, was not possessed of so much wisdom as to conceal his own propensity towards things which pleased him; the Bishops soon perceived his inclination, and had address enough to make profitable improvements of his weakness. Archbishop Whitgift was in great fear of what he termed Scotch Mist, but the favour of James in less than nine months blew it all away, and his Lordship's fears were totally removed.

The Puritans, full of hopes that James would favour their interest, presented a petition to him, to have sundry articles of the church of England reformed. \*The Bishops opposed this petition with all

*\*The Humble Petition of the Ministers, &c. for relief in the following particulars.*

1. In the church service : That the cross in baptism, the interrogatories to infants, baptism by women, and confirmation may be taken away; that the cap and surplice may not be urged; that examination may go before the communion; that the ring in marriage may be dispensed with; that the service may be abridg'd, church songs and music moderated to better edification; that the Lord's day may not be profaned, nor the observation of other holydays strictly enjoined; that ministers may not be charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus; and that none but canonical scriptures be read in the church.

2. Concerning ministers : That none may be admitted but able men; that they be obliged to preach on the Lord's day; that such as are not capable of preaching, may be removed or obliged to maintain preachers; that non-residency be not permitted; that King Edward's statute for the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy be revived; and that ministers be not obliged to subscribe, but according to law, to the articles of religion and the King's supremacy only.

3. For church livings : That Bishops leave their commendams; that impropriations, annexed to bishopricks and colleges, be given to preachers, incumbents only; and that lay-impropriations, be charged with a sixth or seventh part for the maintenance of a preacher.

all their influence, and entreated the King to suffer religion to continue as he found it at his accession to the crown. James thought he could not do less to please a set of men whom he perceived were great friends to arbitrary power, and the prerogative of Princes, than to grant their request concerning religion; he therefore not only permitted them to continue in their places, and allowed them to enjoy their own form of religion, but came totally over to their principles. The government of the church of England was more agreeable to his sentiments, and was more like monarchy, than the forms he had been accustomed to in Scotland; he began to find that the clergy of the church of England entered more into his views, and agreed better with his designs, than the Scotch, who rather wanted to limit his authority than extend his power.\*

King James, that he might not appear too partial, and to persuade people that he would not determine any thing without hearing the arguments on both sides, appointed a conference between the

TWO

4. For church discipline: That excommunication and church censures be not in the name of lay-chancellors, &c. that men be not excommunicated for twelve-penny matters, nor without consent of their pastors; that register's places, and others, having jurisdiction, do not put them out to farm; that sundry popish canons be reversed, may be restrained; that the oath *ex officio* be more sparingly used; and licences for marriages without banns be more sparingly granted.

These things, say they, we are able to shew not to be agreeable to the word of God, if it shall please your Majesty to hear us, or by writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved.

\* Rapin, Collier, Neal.

two parties, wherein he himself would preside as moderator. This conference is called by historians the Hampton-court conference. It was held for the space of three days, on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighteenth of January, one thousand six hundred and four.\*

1604. This conference was held in the drawing-room within the privy chamber at Hampton-court: the disputants were appointed on both sides by the King: for the church there were nine Bishops, and as many Dignitaries; for the Puritans there were only four Ministers. The advocates for the church were the Bishops Whitgift, Bancroft, Matthew, Bilson, Bassington, Rudd, Watson, Robinson, and Dove; the Doctors Andrews, Overal, Barlow, Bridges, Field, and King, besides the Deans of Worcester and Windsor. Those who were on the side of the Puritans were the Doctors Raynolds and Sparks, and Mess. Chadderton and Knewstubs. The church divines appeared in the habits of their respective distinctions; but those who appeared for the Puritans had fur gowns, like Turkey merchants, or like the professors of the universities. This conference answered no good purpose; the contest was unequal; for the puritan divines were not allowed freedom of speech. The King, who sat as president, acted the part of a disputant, and intimidated the ministers by his authority, while the Bishops looked on as spectators of the triumph. James told them in so many words

\* Fuller, Spotswood, Collier, Calderwood, Neal.



what he would have done, and would listen to no arguments, however just, which were against his own opinion. The puritan divines were put to silence, and nothing that they said was in the least regarded. When the account of this conference was published, nothing was fairly represented. Barlow gave a very unfair account of this disputation; he represents his own and the Bishops arguments in the strongest point of view, and conceals or misrepresents the whole of his antagonists replies. King James was now so fond of the hierarchy, that he expressed himself in the warmest manner in its favour. He congratulated himself that he was now come into the promised land; that he sat among grave men, and was not a King as formerly without state, nor in a place where beardless boys would brave him to his face; and that he had called that assembly not with any design to alter the form of religion, but to receive some satisfaction concerning a few points of discipline. These were concerning the prayer book—excommunication in ecclesiastical courts—concerning providing qualified ministers for Ireland—absolution—private baptism by women, and a few other trifling things. James was satisfied with regard to all the rest of the hierarchy, and had no scruples concerning any material points; it was agreeable to his prerogative, which sanctified every error in his opinion. The Archbishop, to satisfy the King concerning private baptism by women, assured him that it was not allowed, though he well knew that the Bishops licensed midwives to baptize infants in cases of necessity, upon taking an

an oath that they would use the right form of words when they baptized them.\* The disputation produced no advantage to the Puritans, the King and the Bishops being before-hand determined to make no alteration in the established religion; so this mock conference was ended to the great satisfaction of Whitgift and his friends. The Puritans were obliged to suffer the reproaches of their adversaries, without having it in their power to clear themselves: the account of this conference published by their enemies reflected severely upon them, as being both ignorant and headstrong; persons who would not listen to reasonable proposals, but were disposed to divide the church without any

S s 2

*\* The Oath of a Midwife.*

*I Eleanor F——*, admitted to the office and occupation of a midwife, will faithfully and diligently exercise the said office, according to such cunning and knowledge as God hath given me, and I will be ready to help and aid as well poor as rich women in labour and travail with child, and will be always ready to execute my said office. Also I will not permit or suffer that any woman being in labour or travail shall name any other to be the father of the child, than only he who is the right and true father thereof; and that I will not suffer any other body's child to be set, brought, or laid before any woman delivered of child, in the place of her natural child, so far forth as I can understand. Also, I will not use any kind of sorcery or incantation, in the time of travail of any woman; and that I will not destroy the child born of any woman, nor cut or pull off the head thereof, or otherwise dismember or hurt the same, or suffer it to be hurt, &c. Also, that in the ministration of the sacrament of baptism, in the time of necessity, I will use the accustomed words of the same sacrament; that is to say, these words following, or to the like effect: I christen thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and none other profane words. And that in baptizing any infant born, and pouring water on the head of the said infant, I will use pure and clean water, and not any rose or damask water, or water made of any confection or mixture; and that I will certify the curate of the parish church of every such baptizing.

any sufficient reasons. These four clergymen who acted for the Puritans in this conference, argued with great calmness and discretion, but when ever their arguments bore hard upon the Bishops, these dignitaries complained that they were rude and unreasonable.

About two weeks before this conference died Mr Cartwright, one of the chief of the Puritans. He was born in Hertfordshire, and educated in St John's College, Cambridge. He first pursued the study of the law, but afterwards applied to divinity, and was chosen Fellow of Trinity College, and afterwards to be Lady Margaret's Professor. He was a man of great judgment, and a good scholar, a popular preacher, and a zealous Non-conformist. He was severely persecuted on account of his non-conformity by Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishops, but he continued steadfast in his principles amidst all his sufferings. His confutation of the Rhemist translation shews him to have been a good divine, and a great scholar, and he had the approbation of the most learned men of that age for this work.

Six weeks after Cartwright, died his violent persecutor, Dr Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was born in Lincolnshire, and educated in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He complied with the times in the reign of Mary, though it is said that he disapproved of her religion. He was Lady Margaret's and Queen's Professor, and Master of Trinity College. Being a champion for the hierarchy, he was preferred by Queen Elizabeth first to the see of  
of

of Worcester, and then to that of Canterbury. He was a violent persecutor of those who differed from him, and shewed no mercy to the Puritans, but oppressed them upon all occasions. He pursued the severest laws to their utmost limits against the Non-conformists, and sometimes went far beyond them. He appears to have been destitute of all the principles of humanity, and regard to true religion, and to have perverted his learning to all the purposes of selfish and arbitrary principles. He was fond of splendour and magnificence, and aspired more to be like a Prince than one of the successors of the apostles, for he sometimes had five hundred horsemen in his retinue, one hundred of which were his own domestics: the Bishop of Rome could scarcely excel him in splendour, or exceed him in ambition: he was a plague to many while he lived, and died lamented by few.

Before the meeting of parliament James issued a proclamation, commanding all Jesuits and popish Priests to depart the kingdom. In this proclamation he was careful to shew that he did not banish them because of their religion in general, but because they maintained the Pope's temporal authority. In this James was certainly right, though the greatest part of our historians mention this with disapprobation; for certainly Roman catholics, provided they did not adhere to a foreign power, which they believe superior to the chief magistrate of Great Britain, have as good a right to profess their religion, and enjoy their civil privileges, as any other denomination of people. But James erred in

in his severity against the Puritans, whom he would not indulge in the profession of their religion, but pressed all to conformity upon the severest penalties.

The first session of parliament was opened with a long speech made by the new King, wherein he acknowledges the Roman church to be his mother church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, and speaks in the highest strains of his own clemency: he said his mind was ever free from persecution for conscience sake, as he hoped the catholics had experienced since his preferment to the crown. If they would dispense with the Pope's supremacy, and his pretended power to dispense with the murder of Kings, he would meet them half way: but as to the Puritans and Novellists, whom he said did not differ from them so much in points of religion as in their confused form of policy and purity, they are discontented with the present church government, impatient to suffer superiors, which makes their sect unsufferable in any well-governed commonwealth. These were the notions of King James concerning the Papists and the Puritans, and his reasons for shewing more mercy to the one than to the others. The Bishops were pleased with this speech, because they found that James meant to shew no favour to the Puritans, which they were afraid of. The protestants were all much concerned to hear that the King was disposed to meet the papists half way, and none except some of the Bishops who wanted to flatter the King approved of this speech. James must have had a very mean opinion of the protestant religion,  
and

and understood little of popery, to imagine they could be reconciled to one another. There are many other articles in the popish religion which cannot be reconciled to the protestant principles, besides that of the Pope's supremacy, and which no person who believes the scriptures can possibly comply with : it was therefore absurd in James to pretend to maintain the cause of protestants if he designed to mingle it with the absurdities of popery. This wise King, as he was called by the Bishops, began soon to shew his arbitrary disposition ; he made frequent mention of his hereditary right to the crown in his long speech, and that he was accountable to none but God for his conduct ; and he soon began to shew the nation in practice the real import of this theory. He altered the writs for electing members of parliament, and presumed to describe to the nation what sort of members they should choose, and threatened to disfranchise those corporations who should not elect members according to his pleasure. When the parliament assembled, he hindered their examining of contested elections, and commanded them to return some members which they had set aside. The favourites of James endeavoured to persuade him to render himself absolute ; the Bishops were of this number, and from this period there has appeared among the clergy a party of men who have maintained passive obedience to the greatest extent.

The parliament did not so well bear with James's arbitrary notions as the court of Bishops ; they passed some acts which gave them great uneasiness ; they  
revived

revived the statute of Edward the Sixth, which enacts, that all processses, citations, judgments, &c. in any ecclesiastical courts, shall be issued in the King's name, and under his seal and arms: that all leases or grants of church lands to the King, or his heirs, &c. for more than twenty-one years, for the future should be made void, which put a final stop to the alienation of church revenues.

The convocation which now sat with the parliament were very active against the Puritans. Bancroft Bishop of London presided in this convocation, because the see of Canterbury was vacant by the death of Whitgift: he procured a licence from the King to make canons, and on the second of May delivered in a book of canons composed by himself, and presented it to the lower house of convocation. At this time several puritan divines presented a petition for reformation of the book of common prayer, but it was rejected, and they were admonished to conform before Midsummer, otherwise they should undergo the censures of the church. While the canons were revising there was a hot dispute in the higher house concerning the use of the cross in baptism: Bancroft was violent for this practice, but Dr Rudd, Bishop of St David's, opposed him, and made a long and sensible speech upon this occasion.\*

The

\* Canon 3. says, That whosoever shall affirm that the church of England by law established is not a true and apostolical church, let him be ipso facto excommunicated, and not restored but only by the Archbishop after his repentance and public revocation of his wicked error.

Canon 4. Whosoever shall affirm the form of God's worship in the church of England established by law, and contained in the book of common prayer, and administration of sacraments, is a corrupt, superstitious,

The Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, and Lincoln answered the Bishop of St David's; but when his Lordship offered to reply, he was forbidden by the president, and submitted. The book of  
canons

stitious; and unlawful worship; or contains any thing repugnant to scripture, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

Canon 5. Whosoever shall affirm that any of the thirty-nine articles of the church agreed upon in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, for avoiding difference of opinions, and for establishing consent touching true religion, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as may not with a good conscience be subscribed to, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

Canon 6. Whosoever shall affirm that the rites and ceremonies of the church of England by law established, are wicked and antichristian, superstitious, or such as being commanded by lawful authority, good men may not with a good conscience approve, use, or, as occasion requires, subscribe, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

Canon 7. Whosoever shall affirm that the government of the church of England by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, and the rest that bear office in the same, is antichristian, or repugnant to the word of God, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

Canon 8. Whosoever shall affirm that the form and manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, contains any thing repugnant to the word of God; or that persons so made and consecrated are not lawfully made, or need any other calling or ordination to the discharge of their divine office, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

Canon 9. Whosoever shall separate from the communion of the church of England, as it is approved by the apostles rules, and combine together in a new brotherhood, accounting those who conform to the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the church unworthy for their communion, let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

Canon 10. Whosoever shall affirm that such as refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God's worship in the church of England, and their adherents, may truly take to themselves the name of another church not established by law, and shall publish that their pretended church has groaned under the burden of certain grievances, imposed upon them by the church of England, let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.



an excommunication in the spiritual courts, must presently perceive the great hardships which the Puritans laboured under by these canons; they were not only suspended from their offices and deprived of their livings, but made incapable of recovering their just debts by the laws of their country, and exposed to imprisonment for life, unless they would satisfy the church; and more than all, they are denied christian burial, and as far as the power of the court could extend, excluded from the kingdom of heaven. This was severity which never can answer any good purpose, and exposes the character of its authors to everlasting contempt. The whole figures in the system of rhetoric are not sufficient to paint in language, the wickedness and abomination of these popish canons. The church of Rome, with all her plenitude of power, could do no more than shut people out of the kingdom, and has not always proceeded so far as this convocation which composed these canons.

Bancroft was preferred to the see of Canterbury in December, one thousand six hundred and four, and was succeeded by Vaughan Bishop of Chester; a man of no great activity. Upon Bancroft's preferment, the Dutch and French churches within his diocese presented an address to him for his protection, according to their charter granted them by Edward the Sixth, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty, and confirmed by Elizabeth in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-eight, which he granted, while he harrassed his Majesty's own natural subjects by all sorts of tyranny and per-

persecution. Bancroft was a person of a rough temper, and of a very arbitrary disposition; he was a great supporter of the prerogative, and an enemy to all sorts of civil and religious liberty; he advised the King to assume the sole right of granting prohibitions, and to take it from the courts of Westminster-hall: for this purpose he framed twenty-five grievances, which he called articuli cleri, and presented them to the King for his approbation; but the Judges having declared them contrary to law, they were set aside.

This tyrant of a Bishop revived the persecution against the Puritans, by enforcing the strict observance of all the festivals of the church; by reviving the use of the copes, surplice, caps, hoods, &c. according to the first service book of Edward the Sixth; by obliging the clergy to subscribe over again the three articles of Whitgift, which by the thirty-sixth canon they were obliged to declare they did willingly, and from the heart. By those severities above three hundred puritan ministers were silenced, and several of them excommunicated and cast into prison; others were forced to flee their native country, and go into banishment, to preserve their consciences from religious impositions.

To support the Bishops in their tyranny, they called in the assistance of the twelve Judges, and in the Star-chamber demanded their judgments upon three. There were present on this occasion the Bishops of Canterbury and London, and twelve Lords of the privy council. The Chancellor opened the assembly with a severe speech against the Puritans, declaring

declaring that the King was designed to suppress them as disturbers of the peace, by having the laws fully executed against them, and then demanded in his Majesty's name the opinion of the Judges upon three things. (1) Whether the deprivation of the puritan ministers, by the high commissioners, for refusing to conform to the ceremonies appointed by the last canons, was lawful? (2) Whether a prohibition be grantable against the commissioners upon the statute of 2 Hen. V. if they do not deliver the copy of the libel to the party? (3) Whether it be an offence punishable, and what punishment it deserved, to frame petitions and collect a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to the King in a public cause, as the Puritans had done, with an intimation to the King, that if he denied their suit many thousands of his subjects would be discontented? All these questions the Judges answered to the satisfaction of the King and the Bishops. By these determinations the whole body of clergy were excluded from the statute law of the land; for the King without his parliament might make what constitutions he pleased, and his high commissioners might proceed upon these constitutions *ex officio* without the forms of common law, and the subjects might not open their complaints to the King, nor petition for relief, without being arrestable at pleasure, and coming within danger of treason or felony.

Before the breaking up of the assembly, some of the Lords declared that the Puritans had raised a false rumour of the King, as intending to grant a toleration for Papists; which offence the Judges conceived

conceived to be highly fineable by the rules of common law, either in the King's Bench or by the King and his council, or by statute 3. of Henry the Seventh, in the Star-chamber. By these determinations the Archbishop was encouraged to go on with his persecution of the Puritans; and pursued them with the utmost severity. In twenty-four counties there were found seven hundred and fifty-four non-subscribing ministers, and in the rest of the counties in England and Wales there must have been double that number: all these were persecuted by the Bishops, without the least compassion shewed to them. The London clergy were summoned to Lambeth to subscribe a-new; but many did not appear, and such numbers refused that the churches were like to be left vacant: upon this the Bishops were obliged to remit the rigour of their canons for a season.

The Puritans who separated from the church were treated with greater rigour than others; the ministers of this sort had no mercy shewed them. Upon this they found themselves obliged to flee the country, and to settle in foreign lands. They had no hopes of relief, for the counsellors whom they employed to plead for them before the courts, were fined and imprisoned for pleading their cause, and some of them suffered to remain in gaol till they died. Nicholas Fuller, a lawyer in Gray's Inn, was thrown into prison for pleading for Mr. Mannel, of Yarmouth, and never released to the day of his death. Great multitudes went now voluntary into exile for the sake of a good conscience,

ence, and left their native country, and sought residence in foreign parts. Dr Ames, Mess. Walker, Pots, and Paget, and many others, settled in Holland, and had churches at Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and the Hague, where they were very useful in propagating true religion. But the greatest number of those who went abroad were of the independent denomination; Mess. Ainsworth, Smith, and Robinson were their teachers. Mr Johnson founded a church at Amsterdam, after the pattern of the Brownists, and had Ainsworth for his doctor or teacher. These two published a confession of faith of the people called Brownists, much of the same nature with the harmony of confessions; but thro' disputes they fell soon into divisions among themselves. Johnson is said to have excommunicated his own father and brother for some very trifling affair, having rejected the intercession of the presbytery of Amsterdam in their behalf. This divided the congregation, and Ainsworth and the other part of the church excommunicated Johnson, who soon after returned the compliment to Ainsworth. They proceeded to such extremities that Amsterdam could not hold both parties; Johnson and his followers removed to Embden, where he died soon after, and his congregation came to nothing. Ainsworth and his followers were not long unanimous, for he soon left them and went to Ireland, where he stayed for a season, but when the minds of his congregation were a little composed, he returned to Amsterdam, and continued till he died. Mr Ainsworth is well known by his commentary on the five books of Moses;

Moses, by which it appears that he was a good scholar, and understood the scriptures well. He is supposed to have been poisoned by the Jews, whom he invited to a dispute upon the prophecies concerning the Messiah. His congregation after him chose Mr Canne, author of the marginal references to the bible, and several other treatises. Smith, whom we mentioned already, was a learned man, and a person of good abilities, but fickle in his judgment, and unsettled in his opinion; for he turned Baptist, and left Amsterdam and settled at Ley, where being at a loss for one to baptize him, he plunged himself, and then proceeded to baptize others, which procured him the name of a Se-baptist. He at last turned Arminian, and published several treatises upon the controversy between the Arminians and Calvinists, which were answered by Mr Robinson. Smith died soon after, and his congregation was extinguished.

Another Independent who set up on high principles, was Mr John Robinson of Norfolk; he was extremely rigid at first in his opinions, but by conversing with Dr Ames and some others, he became more moderate: he always maintained the necessity of separating from the churches among whom he lived, but did not deny them to be true churches, but admitted their ministers to occasional communion, and his own church to join with the Dutch churches in prayer and hearing the word, but not in the sacraments and discipline; which gained him the name of a Semi-separatist.

- Henry Jacob was another minister among the

Independents who at first wrote against the Brownists, but by conversing with Mr Robinson became a profelyte to his opinions. He was a person well read in theology, and skilful in understanding the scriptures: he wrote a treatise endeavouring to prove from scripture that there was special necessity for reforming the church of England.

The Puritans were at this time warmly engaged in a dispute among themselves, concerning the lawfulness of separating from the church of England; the conforming clergy looked on and beheld the combat. The greatest part of the Puritans were for holding communion with the establishment in her doctrines and sacraments, though she was defective in her discipline, and corrupt in her ceremonies. The Independents maintained that the church of England, in her present constitution, was no true church of Christ, but a very limb of Antichrist, or at best a mere creature of the state; that her ministers were not lawfully called or ordained, nor the sacraments rightly administered; and for these reasons it was unlawful to hold communion with her. The other Puritans who were against the church, and would not hold communion with her, allowed her to be a true church, but at the same time maintained it was unlawful to join with her, and lawful to separate from her. They affirmed that it was as lawful for them to separate from the church of England, as for the members of that church to separate from the church of Rome, which they allowed to be a true church. After this manner did the controversy proceed concerning separation

ration at this time. It is manifest that the church divines were not able to answer with any solid arguments either the one party or the other of these Puritans; every argument which they used might easily be turned against themselves; but they had a method of reasoning which answered their purposes full as well. They had the law on their side, and by the influence thereof could answer all arguments which were brought against them.

This year was famous for the gunpowder plot, which was contrived to blow up the King and parliament. It was contrived by the papists to make way for the establishment of popery; but it was discovered before it was executed, and the conspirators punished according to their desert. As this plot more especially belongs to civil history, I shall pass it over with a few observations. James, though he had the plainest demonstration of the designs of the papists against his government, continued still to favour their sentiments, and to persecute the Puritans; which would naturally make men believe that he thought it only a crime so far as it was meant against himself. The discovery of this plot was made by the King himself, by means of reading a letter sent to Lord Monteagle, which would make one believe that the King himself was in the secret; for the letter is so mystical, that all the King's council could not understand it: the King alone could discover the meaning thereof. The King smelled gunpowder in the letter, which none discovered except himself; which renders it probable that he was no stranger to this horrible



machination. This plot was intended to have been fathered upon the Puritans, and the King in his speech to the parliament, on the ninth of November, takes special care to bring them into it; for after he had cleared the Roman catholic religion from encouraging such murdering practices, he adds, that the cruelty of the Puritans was worthy of fire, that would not allow salvation to papists; so that if the Puritans had been blown up, his Majesty thinks they would have met with nothing but what they deserved. The intention of this speech seems to have been to turn away the popular resentment from the Roman catholics, whom James both feared and loved, to the Puritans, who had never under all their persecutions moved the least sedition against the government. The merciful disposition of the King towards the catholics afterwards, and his severities to the Puritans, make it highly probable that neither King nor parliament were in great danger by the gunpowder concealed under the parliament-house.

Some desperados had indeed intended to blow up the parliament-house, and very likely meant to destroy both King and parliament; but others who were of the same religion, and had complied so far with the rest to find out their secret, betrayed them to the King, because they found it a more probable way to practise upon James. who was well-disposed towards popery, than by such an horrid action to render themselves odious to all christian states. It is very probable that the wiser sort of the papists understood the King's bias to popery, and

and were not without hopes that one day or other he would declare in favour of that religion; for this reason it was natural for them to infer, that it was better for them to wait for a season, and have their religion established by authority, than by one desperate action to run the risk of losing all. By discovering this plot to the King, they would render themselves and their principles more acceptable, and shew him that it was not the principles of the Roman religion, but despair, which had driven the conspirators to such a wicked exploit. This will easily account for the King's speeches, and his future behaviour towards the Roman catholics.

This plot occasioned a new oath of allegiance to be imposed, which passed both houses of parliament, and was appointed to be taken by all his Majesty's subjects. This oath is different from the old oath of supremacy, which obliges the subjects to acknowledge the King to be supreme head of the church, as well as of the state, and was calculated to answer those papists who did not believe that the Pope had power to depose Kings, and sequestrate their dominions. The greatest part of the Roman catholics took this oath, contrary to the Pope's express prohibition, which occasioned a new debate concerning the Pope's power with regard to temporals, between the learned of both religions. James and the Pope joined issue in this debate, and the King reproached his Holiness with ingratitude for interfering with his government, seeing he had been so favourable to the catholics within his dominions  
since

since his preferment to the crown of England. How this dispute ended is of small consequence for us now to know.

The parliament appointed an annual thanksgiving on the fifth of November, and passed another law obliging all persons to come to church under the penalty of twelve-pence every Sunday they were absent, unless they should give such reasons as should be satisfactory to a Justice of the Peace: this law was equally severe against both Papists and Puritans.

The moderate Puritans who were unwilling to forsake the church altogether, and who steered a middle course between absolute conformity and separation, were now attacked by some Bishops, and accused of being guilty of schism, for refusing to obey the King in things indifferent. The Puritans retorted the charge, and affirmed, that those who imposed things indifferent upon tender consciences, were themselves guilty of making a schism in the church; for if they were not necessary to the profession and practice of christianity, it was sinful to impose them upon persons who could not perceive their usefulness, but believed them to be sinful. The Puritans offered to dispute this point publicly, with several others; such as the lawfulness of imposing ceremonies, as the cross in baptism, the surplice, and kneeling at the sacrament, but they were refused this privilege: upon which the ministers in Lincolnshire drew up an apology for those ministers who were troubled for refusing to subscribe and conform to the canons, and presented it to the  
King

King on the first of December the preceding year. They signified their readiness to subscribe the first three articles enjoined by the thirty-sixth canon concerning the King's supremacy, but refused to subscribe to the other two, because they were persuaded that the book of common prayer and the book of articles are contrary to the word of God.

Their reasons for refusing to use the common prayer are, That it appoints an order for reading the scriptures which in many places is contrary to the word of God—by leaving out many places which are useful for edifying—substituting in their place lessons from the apocryphal writings—by using a false translation of the scriptures, and enjoining ceremonies which are contrary to the word of God. These subjects were handled at large, but an abridgment of them was made and offered to the King, which concluded with a table of several other exceptions against the books they were required to subscribe.

There was an answer made to this abridgment by Dr Moreton and Dr Burges. Moreton endeavoured to defend the innocency of the ceremonies; from scripture, antiquity, and the authority of protestant writers, and the practice of the Non-conformists themselves in other cases, and has said as much as the subject can possibly admit of. It is certainly hard to impose ceremonies upon those who believe them unlawful, and is what no person would chuse to have done to him if the case was changed. Dr Ames, Mess. Paul, Baynes, Bradshaw, and others, answered all Moreton's arguments, and proved that  
it

it was contrary to scripture and reason for any person to impose upon others practices, upon severe penalties, which the imposers themselves acknowledged to be indifferent.

From the writings of the divines on both sides of the question, it is manifest that the violence of the Bishops and the court forced the Puritans to proceed farther in separation from the church than they at first intended; for had some lenity been shewed towards them, it appears that many of them would have continued in the church, and remained true members thereof. Mr Cartwright and his brethren wrote severely against the ceremonies, as inconvenient and unseasonable, but never declared the church of England to be no true church of Christ; but afterwards when Bancroft began to push them more tyrannically, they went a greater length, and refused all sort of communion with her.

The extreme proceedings of the Bishops strengthened the hands of the Brownists in Holland, who wrote with great advantage against the lawfulness of holding communion with the church of England at that time, not only because she was a corrupt church, but a persecuting one. The defenders of the church, on the other hand, who preached for preferment, represented the separatists in the most odious colours, as heretics, schismatics, fanatics, precisians, enemies to God and the King, and persons of unstable minds. This was the language which the papists formerly used against the reformers, and has been a reproach thrown out against all those who have not been conformed to national establishments.

lishments. The Puritans, to wipe away these reproaches, published a formulary of their principles, conceived in general articles, and illustrated by particular sub-divisions, that the world might perceive whether those charges which were brought against them were true or false. This compendium of their principles was composed by Mr Bradshaw, under the title of *English Puritanism*. It was translated by Dr Ames into latin, for the benefit of foreigners, and to shew the foreign reformed churches the causes for which they were persecuted.

As the Puritans had been reproached as enemies to civil government, they published another pamphlet, intituled, *A protestation concerning Kings, &c.* wherein they shewed how unjustly they were accused by their adversaries of being enemies to the state. To this protestation, is annexed an humble petition for liberty of conscience.

The puritan ministers found that their submission only gave an handle to the Bishops, both to reproach and persecute them, for it was alledged against them, that they were more peevish than conscientious, seeing they had made concessions concerning things of more importance than those they contended for; and it must be allowed that their petition was mean, flattering, and servile. It did not abound with that fortitude and resolution which many of the reformers had shewed on like occasions; but appears to have been intended to cajole the Bishops, and flatter the court, for the sake of a little ease.

This year the islands of Guernsey and Jersey were deprived of their liberty, and 1606.

forced to conform to the church. The protestants in these islands had enjoyed their own form of discipline through the reign of Elizabeth, and had this privilege ratified by James, by a grant under the privy-seal, in the year one thousand six hundred and three; but Bancroft and the rest of the Bishops prevailed upon the King to force them to conformity, as they intended to do throughout all his Majesty's dominions. Sir John Peyton, a zealous churchman, was appointed governor, and was secretly instructed to root out the Geneva discipline, and establish the liturgy of the church of England. This new governor took advantage of the synod's appointing a minister to a vacant congregation, according to custom, to protest against it, as injurious to the King's prerogative, and complained to the court, that the ministers of Jersey had usurped the patronage of the benefices of the island; that they admitted men to livings without the form of presentation, which was a loss to the crown in its first-fruits; and therefore prayed that his Majesty would settle the English liturgy and discipline among them. The ministers pleaded his Majesty's letters patent, and the practice of the former reign, which allowed them the enjoyment of their own form of worship: but all this had no influence upon James, who never regarded either his oaths, promises, or letters patent, when they stood in the way of his interest and prerogative; he therefore ordered his ecclesiastical commissioners to pursue his instructions in the most effectual manner, which they accordingly did, and the Non-conformists in these islands were deprived of the privilege

privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

This year the Bishops were highly provoked with a book which was written by 1607.  
Mr Robert Parker, a puritan divine, concerning the cross in baptism, wherein he exposed this practice as childish and popish, having no foundation in scripture, nor answered any good purpose. The Bishops, instead of answering this book, persuaded the King to issue a proclamation, with the offer of a reward for apprehending Mr Parker, which obliged him to conceal himself. He was almost betrayed by a treacherous servant, who informed the officers where he was; but he escaped by a special providence, for they neglected to search the room where he was concealed, and came away without him; by which means he had time to escape and flee to Amsterdam, and afterwards to Doesburgh, where he died in the service of the garrison.

Dr Reynolds died this year: he was first a zealous papist, while his brother William was a protestant, but by conference and disputation, the brothers converted each other; William died a zealous catholic, and John an eminent protestant. He was born in Devonshire, and educated in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he was afterwards President. He was a person of great reading, and had a prodigious memory, was well skilled in almost every branch of learning, and remarkably sober in his deportment. All that his adversaries could say to him was, that he was the pillar of puritanism, which with them was the greatest crime. The devotees of high church authority,



have always accounted non-conformity one of the worst crimes that persons can be guilty of, which is manifest from those anathemas they have issued against Non-conformists of all sorts.

1608. This year is not notable for any affairs in the church. There is one thing however which deserves some attention. George Gervis, a seminary priest of Rheis, was hanged at Tyburn on the eleventh of April, and Thomas Garnet, a Jesuit, met with the same fate on the twenty-third of June. They were executed for refusing to swear the oath of supremacy, and Garnet was offered his pardon if he would swear the oath of allegiance, which he positively refused. Papists and Protestants were now made martyrs to the prerogative of James, who was as arrant a Pope on principles of arbitrary government and hereditary right, as his Holiness in Rome was on the principles of the papacy.

1609. The Bishops had now received the reins of the government into their hands; as a testimony of their gratitude to James for this privilege, they zealously engaged in defending his prerogative, and employed all their creatures to write books on this subject. There were two books published about this time, which maintained the most extravagant maxims of prerogative. The one was written by Cowel, Doctor of Civil Law, the other by Blackwood, a Clergyman. Cowel affirmed, that the King is not bound by the laws or by his coronation oath; that he is not obliged to call parliaments to make laws, but may do it without them:

them: that it is a great favour to admit the consent of the subject in giving subsidies. Blackwood affirmed, that the English were all slaves since the Norman conquest, and had no liberty of their own. The parliament were disposed to have brought the authors to justice for such wicked doctrine, which destroyed the whole constitution; but the King protected them, and prorogued both houses in high displeasure; and to supply his own exigencies, he began to raise money by monopolies of divers manufacturers, which did great prejudice to the trade of the Kingdom.

James Arminius died this year; he was professor of divinity at Leyden, and the original of a party which still bears his name. By opposing the Supralapsarians too violently, he fell into the opposite extreme. He denied predestination, and maintained universal grace; universal redemption, and free-will, and denied the perseverance of believers. Gomarus opposed him with great warmth, and the controversy was maintained with little charity on either side. The troubles Arminius met with from his adversaries, and the attacks made upon his character and reputation, broke his spirits, so that he fell into a melancholy disorder, attended with a complication of distempers, which put an end to his life, after he had been professor at Leyden six years. He was far from being so violent as some of his followers, and did not carry matters so far as they afterwards did. He is said to have been a learned man, and one who enquired freely into all religious subjects, which he did not conceal, but was rather

rather too forward in publishing his opinions before he had considered them perfectly. His friends have been liberal in commending him, and his adversaries as profuse in blackening his character. However far he might be wrong, he appears to have been an honest man.

The parliament assembled this summer, 1610. but did not appear to enter into the views and principles of James. The spirit of liberty began to kindle among the members, and severe speeches were made against the power of the Bishops, and their conduct in the ecclesiastical courts: the grievances of the state were likewise described in such a manner, as shewed that the parliament were not disposed to suffer arbitrary government without making opposition. The freedom and warmth of their speeches alarmed the King, who could not endure to hear his prerogative or authority called in question; he sent for both houses to Whitehall, and told them, "that he did not intend to govern  
 " by the absolute power of a King, though he  
 " knew that the power of Kings was like the divine  
 " power; for (says his Majesty) as God can create  
 " and destroy, make and unmake at his pleasure,  
 " so Kings can give life and death, judge all, and  
 " be judged of none; they can exalt and abase, and  
 " like men at chess, make a pawn, take a Bishop  
 " or a Knight." He proceeded to tell the houses,  
 " that as it was blasphemy to dispute what God  
 " might do, so it was sedition in subjects to dispute  
 " what a King might do in the height of his power."  
 He commanded them therefore not to meddle with  
 the

the main points of government, which would be to lessen his craft who had been thirty years at his trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship of seven years in England.

The parliament were not afraid of this arbitrary stile, but proceeded to assert their own rights, and on the twenty-fourth of May presented a remonstrance to the King in direct opposition to his late speech; they informed him that they accounted it their undoubted right to examine the grievances of the subject, and to enquire into their own rights, as well as his Majesty's prerogative. In another petition they besought the King to put the laws in execution against Papists, and requested several things in behalf of the Puritans, which were very mortifying to James, and altogether contrary to his inclination. They next proceeded to petition his Majesty with respect to the ecclesiastical commission; that it might be kept within those bounds and limits which were set to it by the laws of the land; and that these commissioners might not be permitted to oppress the subjects, contrary to common justice and established laws. They insisted largely on this point, and exposed the tyranny of this court to a great length.

Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was the plague of the Puritans, died this year, ten days after his consecration: he was born at Farnworth, in Lincolnshire, and educated in Jesus College, Cambridge. He shewed great zeal for the dignity of Bishops, and the prerogative of Kings; and was even more severe and cruel than Whitgift to those  
who

who differed from him. He was not remarkable for either learning or piety, and did but little for those in his own profession. He was a mere tool of the court, and a pandour to prerogative. He appears to have been more a papist than protestant. He was covetous, passionate, sour, and ill-natured. As a clergyman, he was proud; as a man, he was cruel; and as a Bishop, he was tyrannical. He died unlamented, and his memory is held in contempt by all good men.

Dr Abbot, Bishop of London, succeeded 1611. Bancroft in the see of Canterbury: he was a man of a very different disposition; he hated all severe measures, and was a lover of the protestant religion. Had Abbot's measures been pursued, the liberties of both church and state had been secured, and popery had not made such progress as it afterwards did; many extremes had been avoided, and the church of England had been prevented from that ruin which she afterwards fell into.

About this time the translation of the bible was finished, which was begun five years before. Fifty-four divines were appointed to perfect this performance, but some of them died during the time they were engaged in the work: forty-seven of them undertook it, and at last finished it. They divided themselves into six companies; the first translated from Genesis to the first book of Chronicles; the second, to the prophecy of Isaiah; the third translated the four greater prophets, with the Lamentations of Jeremiah; the fifth had the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelations; and the sixth

sixth company translated the canonical epistles. When the work was finished, it was revised by the learned men of both universities; and when it was publishing, it was committed to the care of Bishop Bilson and Dr Miles Smith: this last wrote the preface which now stands before it. It was printed this year with a dedication to King James, and is the same that is now read in all the churches.

After the death of Arminius, the curators of the university of Leyden chose Conradus Vorstius his successor. Vorstius published a treatise which gave great offence: in this book he maintained that the Almighty had a body; and denied his immensity and omniscience, as they are commonly understood: he affirmed that the Deity was limited, and restrained; and ascribed quantity and magnitude to him. The clergy of Amsterdam remonstrated to the States against his settlement at Leyden, because the country was already too much divided by the Arminian controversy. These divines applied to the King of England for his opinion of Vorstius's principles. James was fond of a dispute of this sort, and entered heartily into this controversy: he declared that Vorstius was an atheist and a heretic, and Arminius an enemy to God; and Bertius having written concerning the apostacy of the saints, he said that author was worthy of the fire. James at length published his royal declaration in several languages, containing an account of all he had done in the affair of Vorstius, with his reasons; which were his zeal for the glory of God, his love for his friends and allies (the States), and fear of the

same contagion in his own kingdom: but the States did not thank James for interfering in their affairs. However Vorstius was removed to Gowda, where he lived till the synod of Dort, when he was banished the seven provinces: he afterwards turned Socinian, and died.

1612. King James had now an opportunity of displaying his zeal against heresy in his own country, among his own subjects: one Bartholomew Legate turned Arian: he was a man about forty years of age, of a comely person, and black complexion; and so fluent in speech, and well skilled in the scriptures, that few were his equal; his conversation was unblameable, and his deportment so regular, that his enemies could find no reason to blame his conduct. But James could not think that any heretics should live under his government: Legate was cast into prison, where he lay for some time; he was afterwards brought before Bishop King and his consistory at St Paul's, who with some other divines and lawyers declared him an obstinate heretic, and certified the same by a significate to the chancery, delivering him over to the secular power: whereupon the King signed a writ *de heretico comburendo* to the Sheriffs of London, who brought him to Smithfield on the eighteenth of March, in the midst of a great multitude of people, and burnt him to death. He was offered a pardon at the stake if he would recant, but he refused it. This shews us plainly, that martyrdom is no argument of itself for the soundness of any principle; it only shews that the sufferer believes his own to be true,  
or

or: that men who profess error may on some occasions have fortitude to suffer death for it.

About a month after this Edward Wightman, of Burton upon Trent, was convicted of heresy by Dr Neile, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and was burnt at Litchfield on the eleventh of April. He was charged in the warrant with holding the heresies of Arius, Cerenthus, Manicheus, and the Anabaptists. There was another condemned for the same heresies, but the constancy and steadfastness of the former two moved the spectators to such compassion, that it was thought convenient to defer the execution of the other, and suffer him to pine away in prison, and die in Newgate in great misery and distress. In these days speculative errors were accounted damnable in the first instance, and thought worthy of death, while immorality and errors in practice were overlooked, indulged, and patronized by the government, and the rulers of the church. The church was left to the Bishops, the government of the state to a favourite, and the King indulged himself in indolence and inactivity. The favourite had nothing to recommend him, except his youth, the gracefulness of his person, and the finery of his dress, which exposed him and his master to the contempt of foreign courts, who now paid him very little regard. James was so profuse in his favours to his hungry courtiers, that he drained the exchequer, and was forced to take illegal methods to raise money by virtue of his prerogative: this lost him the affections of his people, which he never could recover, and laid a founda-



dation for all the miseries which happened to his family in the succeeding reign.

✓ 1613. This year the King's daughter Elizabeth was married to Frederick the Fifth, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, from whom the present royal family is descended. This match was promoted by Archbishop Abbot, to whom the protestants in Great Britain are yet highly obliged : the Puritans all approved of this marriage, as a great security for a protestant succession, in case the King's son should die without heirs, and all the nation were in general well pleased with the marriage : but while the nation was rejoicing at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, their joy was soon interrupted by the death of Henry Prince of Wales, the apparent heir to the crown ; he died on the sixth of November, aged eighteen years and eight months. ✓ Some have expressed their suspicions that he was poisoned by his father, on account of his popularity ; but of this there is no proof. It is usual in cases of this nature to suppose the worst ; but it is altogether uncharitable to impute such horrid crimes to any person without evidence of the clearest nature. James was jealous of his son's popularity, and asked him once if he meant to bury him alive, and commanded that no person should appear at court in mourning for him ; but considering the peevishness of James's temper, and the whimsicalness of his disposition, all this might happen without supposing him such an unnatural wretch as to poison his own son, who had never done any thing to offend him. Henry was one of the most accomplished

complished Princes of his age, sober, chaste, religious, full of honour and goodness: he was never heard to swear an oath; neither the example of the King nor of the whole court was capable of corrupting him in this particular. He often said, that if ever he mounted the throne, it should be his first care to reconcile the Puritans to the church of England. This made some suspect that he favoured the Puritans; but whatever were his principles in this respect, it appears that he was a sober Prince, for no historians have charged him with any vice.

This year the articles of the church of Ireland were ratified and confirmed. The reformation had advanced but slowly in this country; the Irish were bigotted Roman catholics, and hated the English, because they considered them as invaders of their nation; for which cause they kept at a distance from them, and avoided any correspondence with them. The discipline of the Irish church was much the same with that of England; Bishops were nominated to the popish sees, but their revenues were alienated, or in the hands of papists, or very much diminished by the wars; for this reason they were obliged to put the revenues of several bishoprics together, to make a tolerable maintenance for one. The case was much the same with regard to the inferior clergy, forty shillings a year being a common allowance for a Vicar in some provinces, and sometimes but sixteen. By this means the authority of the Bishops was lessened, and the people pursued their own inclinations in the choice of their religion,

As

As there were but few endowments at this time to be obtained by reforming Ireland, the English Episcopalians were not fond of undertaking the conversion of a nation where they had much to fear, and but small prospect of any great worldly advantage: this work was left to the English Puritans, and the Scotch Presbyterians. Some Londoners who had engaged to plant colonies in the province of Ulster, prevailed upon some Puritans to remove thither; who being persecuted in their own country, might enjoy liberty of conscience in Ireland. These people being harrassed at home, were glad to go to any part of the King's dominions where they might live in peace, and enjoy the privilege of serving God according to the dictates of their own minds. Multitudes would have gone had they been assured of a toleration after they were settled; but they were afraid of the influence of the court, and the tyranny of the Bishops. The chief supply of these colonies was from Scotland: many went over from that Kingdom; such as Bryce, Cunningham, Blair, Livingstone, Hamilton, Welch, Dunbar, &c. Those divines made a sort of compromise with the Bishops in Ireland, and enjoyed their own religion as to the major part, and joined with the Bishops in some few things which they accounted indifferent. This comprehension was owing to the gentle disposition of Archbishop Usher, who never approved of any violent measures towards those who differed from him in opinion.

About this time the Puritans (fled from 1616. the persecution of Bishop Bancroft) who were

were of the Independent principles, published some treatises concerning the institution of Christ's true visible church, and desired their brethren at home to set up separate congregations like those in Holland. Mr Jacob, whom we have mentioned already, came over to England, and called together several of his friends, and having obtained their consent to join together in church fellowship, for enjoying the ordinances of Christ in the purest manner, they laid the foundation of the first congregational church in England. Mr Jacob was chosen the pastor of this church by the suffrage of the whole members, and others were appointed to the office of deacons; the whole was performed by fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands. Mr Jacob continued pastor to this church for eight years, but afterwards went to Virginia, where he died. Mr Lathorp succeeded him, of whom we shall hear afterwards, when we come to continue the history of the Independent churches.

King James this year made a strange speech in the Star-chamber: he wanted to convince his subjects of the absolute extent of his prerogative, and for this end gave them a sermon upon this subject, from Psal. lxxii. 1. *Give the King thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness to the King's son.* After several divisions and sub-divisions of his text, and giving the literal and mystical meaning thereof, his Majesty applied it to the Judges and courts of judicature, telling them, "That the King sitting on the throne of God, all judgments center in him; and therefore for inferior courts to de-

" termin

"termine difficult questions without consulting him,  
 " was to inroach upon his prerogative, and to limit  
 " his power, which was not lawful for the tongue  
 " of a lawyer or any other subject to dispute. As  
 " it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God  
 " can do (says he) so it is presumption, and an high  
 " contempt, to dispute what Kings can do or say :  
 " it is to take away that mystical reverence that  
 " belongs to them who sit in the throne of God."

Then he addressed himself to the audience, and  
 advised them not to meddle with the King's pre-  
 rogative or honour. " Plead not (says he) upon  
 " puritanical principles, which make all things po-  
 " pular, but keep within the ancient limits." Con-  
 cerning those who came occasionally to church, he  
 says, that they are formal to the laws, and false  
 to God: and with regard to the papists, he allows  
 that they were misled, but remained good subjects.  
 He said he was unwilling to hang a priest on ac-  
 count of his religion and saying mass; but if they  
 refused the oath of allegiance, he would leave them  
 to the law. He concluded his sermon with an ex-  
 hortation to the Judges to countenance the clergy  
 against the Papists and Puritans; and added, that  
 God and the King would reward their zeal. This  
 was a sermon of a strange nature, and shewed the  
 subjects what they had to expect from a King of  
 such principles. James cannot be well cleared of  
 blasphemy, in pretending to rank himself with the  
 Almighty, in sitting upon his throne: this was doc-  
 trine which the subjects of **Great Britain** afterwards  
 shewed his family that they did not believe: it  
 cost

cost his son his head, and his whole race were expelled for maintaining it. The subjects of these realms have on many occasions shewed, that the Almighty has endowed them with as much power as their Kings are possessed of; and it will always be found a dangerous experiment, for the chief magistrate of Britain to speak and act in such a manner. Such doctrine will not only make the throne to totter, but will effectually in the end dissolve its base, and make such Monarchs as adopt the maxims of James, tumble headlong from their seats, and lay their crowns in the dust.

The book of sports was published this year, which gave occasion to great profanation of the Lord's day. A few servants and tradesmen presented a petition to the King, upon his return from Scotland, where he had been paying a visit to his subjects in that country, signifying that they were restrained from all exercises on Sunday after divine service, and obliged to keep the sabbath as strictly as the Jews did of old. James accounted this a device of the Puritans, to restrain his subjects from their innocent diversions, and was ready to grant speedy relief to them from such religious strictness. A book was published in his name, wherein he endeavoured to maintain by several arguments, that pastimes on Sundays after evening service, were allowable, and commanded that none should be hindered or discouraged from any lawful diversions. This book made a great noise every where; both churchmen and presbyterians cried out against it, as giving authority

rity to all ranks of people to profane the Lord's day: the Mayor of London opposed it, and caused the King's own carriages to be stopt as they were passing through the city, notwithstanding his Majesty's prohibition. Nothing material happened during the remaining part of this year concerning religion; the court was employed in devising a scheme to take off the head of Sir Walter Raleigh, to please the King of Spain; and he was executed according to a sentence passed upon him fourteen years before, though King James had employed him afterwards in his service, and stiled him, "Our beloved and faithful Walter Raleigh, Knight." But this was nothing to James, who never valued any man's life, or happiness, any farther than he found it consistent with either his ease, his pride, or prerogative.

1618. The famous synod of Dort assembled on the nineteenth of November this year. The controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians, concerning some points in religion, had for some time past gone high, and each party had liberally distributed reproaches against one another: they charged the most invidious consequences on each other's opinions, so that all charity and love ceased between them. The pulpits were filled with uncharitable disputes, and where the one party prevailed the other was turned out: the magistrates were also divided, and little less was expected than a civil war. The controversy issued in a state faction, and endangered the foundation of the government. The Stadtholder joined with the Calvinists, though he was himself

an Arminian, because they were for a Stadtholder, and the magistrates who were Arminians were against one : among whom the advocate of Holland, Oldenbarnevelt, and the pensionaries of Leyden and Rotterdam, Hogerberts and Grotius, were chief. Several attempts were made to accommodate matters, but neither party would tolerate one another. The three heads of the Arminians, otherwise called Remonstrants, were taken into custody, and the magistrates of several towns and cities changed by the authority of the Prince, which made way for choosing such a synod as his Highness desired. The classes of the several towns assembled first in a provincial synod, and these sent deputies to the national one, with proper instructions how to behave. The Remonstrants were against calling a national synod, because their party was inferior to that of the Calvinists; and their leaders being in custody, they could easily perceive what would be the issue of the matter. They complained of the injustice of their summons to the provincial assemblies; but they did more injustice to their own cause, by absenting themselves from their classes, by which means their adversaries got the power into their hands, and condemned their principles, and deposed their pastors.

The synod of Dort consisted of thirty Dutch and Walloon divines, five professors of the universities, and twenty-one lay-elders, which altogether made sixty-one, of which not above three or four were Remonstrants. There were besides twenty-eight foreign divines from Great Britain, the Pala-



tine, Hesse, Switzerland, Geneva, Bremen, Embden, Nassau, and Wetteravia. The French King would not allow any of the protestant divines in his country to appear at the synod. The English divines sat next the deputies of the States; the next place was kept void for the French divines; the rest sat in the order they are mentioned above. Upon the right hand of the chair sat the Netherland professors, next to the lay-deputies, then ministers and elders according to the rank of their provinces; the Walloon churches were placed last. After they had all produced their credentials, the Rev. Mr John Bogerman, of Leewarden, was chosen president; Mess Jacob Rowland and Herman Frankebius, of Amsterdam and Middleburgh, assessors; Heinfrus was scribe, and Mess Dammon and Festius Homemius, secretaries; a general fast was then appointed, after which they proceeded to business.

The commissioners for England were the Doctors Carlton, Bishop of Landaff; Hall, Dean of Worcester; Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; Ward, Master of Sydney College, Cambridge. Dr Hall not being able to endure the climate, Dr Goad was appointed in his room. From Scotland, one Balcanqual was commissioned by King James; he was a man of very different principles from the church which he pretended to represent, being a mere creature of the court, and ready to do anything to please the King. Balcanqual had a place by himself, as the representative of the church of Scotland, and did not vote with the English divines. He was dressed in different apparel from the

the English clergy, but in such a sort of conformity as was not disagreeable to the Bishops; for the Bishop of Landaff said he appeared decent. His Majesty gave his divines instructions to the following purpose:—That they should agree among themselves concerning the state of any question—that they should advise the Dutch divines not to handle scholastic points in their sermons, but abide by their former confession of faith—that they should consult the King's honour, and the peace of the church; and behave in all things with gravity and moderation.

The Calvinists in this synod gained the day; the remonstrants were condemned, and afterwards banished. The rancour of parties prevailed more than the love of truth, and those who could once procure power on their side, were sure to use it to the disadvantage of those who differed from them in opinion. The decision of this synod was extolled by the calvinists, as if all that assembly of divines had been inspired by the spirit of God, and their determinations infallible; the remonstrants considered it as unjust, arbitrary, and tyrannical, confirming falsehoods, and enforcing them upon severe penalties. The controversy between the two parties was whimsical and capricious; for they agreed in so many things, that if their words have any meaning, it is hard to tell wherein they differed. The Arminians affirmed, that Christ died for all men efficaciously, and the Calvinists allowed, that he died sufficiently for all men, but efficaciously only for the elect; now however far they differ in words,  
their

their sentiment is the same ; for what is sufficient must certainly have efficacy to answer its end, otherwise it is not sufficient, and the distinction is in that case absurd. The Arminians affirmed, that man in his present state, has a freedom of will and power to believe the gospel, the Calvinists themselves supposed as much, in considering it necessary in their teaching, to exhort sinners to come to Christ : for it would be highly absurd to suppose the necessity of an exhortation, if there was no possibility of men complying with it ; neither does it mend the matter, to say, that the Calvinists take in the assistance of the spirit along with their exhortations ; for this will destroy the nature of an exhortation, and make it only a display of divine power and agency, contrary to the express terms they make use of. With regard to original sin, election, and the perseverance of the saints, the parties seemed more effectually to differ, though in the manner they expressed themselves, it appears rather to be in words than sentiment : when disputes are once begun, every party is fond of their own stile and phraseology, and the heat of disputation ordinarily makes them more tenacious of their terms than otherwise they would be. The passions generally grow warm as they proceed, and obstinacy is frequently added to contention. This is the case for the most part in all religious disputes.

1619. The protestant religion was now in great jeopardy ; the Palatinate fell into the hands of the papists, and Frederick the Fifth, King of Bohemia, who was married to King James's only daughter,

daughter, was deprived of his kingdom, and forced to forsake his dominions. His father-in-law, instead of supporting him as he ought, discouraged him, and reflected upon him for accepting of the kingdom of Bohemia: because James had no opinion of the elective right of subjects, he forsook his own daughter when it was in his power to have supported her. Archbishop Abbot did all he could to prevail with the King to support his son-in-law, but James did not relish his advice, and was disposed rather to suffer his son and daughter to live in Holland like vagrants, than give countenance to a King who was chosen by the people. Had King James been possessed of either honour, courage, or regard for the protestant religion, he might have preserved it in the Palatinate, and established it in Bohemia, by which the balance of power would have been on that side; but this cowardly King would never draw his sword for the best cause in the world. However providence preserved this family in exile for twenty-eight years, after which, by the treaty of Munster in one thousand six hundred and forty-eight, they were restored to their dominions, and declared presumptive heirs of the crown of Great Britain, in the last year of King William the Third, of which they took possession after the death of Queen Anne, in one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, to the great joy of all true protestants and lovers of liberty.

In the year one thousand six hundred and twenty a colony of Independents removed from Holland to New England. Mr Robinson's

binson's congregation being now upon the decline, on account of the old members dying, and their children marrying into Dutch families, they consulted how they might preserve their church and religion; and after much deliberation, and fervent prayer to God for direction, the younger part resolved to go and settle in America, under the protection of the King of England, where they might enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and be capable of encouraging their friends and countrymen to follow them. They sent their agents into England, and obtained a patent from the crown, and agreed with several merchants to become adventurers in the undertaking. Several of Mr Robinson's congregation sold their estates, and made a common bank, with which they purchased a small ship of sixty tons, and hired another of one hundred and eighty. The agents sailed into Holland with their own ship, to take in as many of the congregation as were willing to embark, while the other vessel was freighting with all necessaries for the new plantation. All things being ready, Mr Robinson kept a day of fasting and prayer with his congregation, and took his leave of the adventurers with the following exhortation.

" Brethren, we are now quickly to part from  
 " one another, and whether I may ever live to  
 " see your faces on earth any more, the God of  
 " heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has  
 " appointed that or no, I charge you before God,  
 " and his blessed angels, that ye follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord  
 " Jesus Christ.

" If

" If God reveal any thing to you, by any other  
 " instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as  
 " ever you were to receive any truth by my mi-  
 " nistry ; for I am verily persuaded, the Lord has  
 " more truth yet to break forth out of his holy  
 " word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail  
 " the condition of the reformed churches, who are  
 " come to a period in religion, and will go at  
 " present no farther than the instruments of their  
 " reformation. The Lutherans can't be drawn to  
 " go beyond what Luther saw ; whatever part of  
 " his will our God has revealed to Calvin, they  
 " will rather die than embrace it ; and the Calvi-  
 " nists, you see, stick fast where they were left by  
 " that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

" This is a misery much to be lamented ; for  
 " though they were burning and shining lights in  
 " their times, yet they penetrated not into the  
 " whole council of God, but were they now living,  
 " would be as willing to embrace further light as  
 " that which they first received. I beseech you,  
 " remember 'tis an article of our church covenants,  
 " that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall  
 " be made known to you from the written word  
 " of God. Remember that, and every other ar-  
 " ticle of your sacred covenant. But I must here  
 " withal exhort you, to take heed what you re-  
 " ceive as truth, examine it, consider it, and com-  
 " pare it with other scriptures of truth, before you  
 " receive it ; for it is not possible that the chris-  
 " tian world should come so lately out of such thick  
 " antichristian darkness, and that perfection of know-  
 " ledge should break forth at once."

On the first of July the adventurers went from Leyden to Delfthaven, whether Mr Robinson and the ancients of his congregation accompanied them; they continued together all night, and next morning, after mutual embraces, Mr Robinson kneeled down on the sea-shore, and with a fervent prayer committed them to the protection and blessing of heaven. The adventurers were about one hundred and twenty, who having joined their other ship, sailed for New England on the fifth of August; but one of their vessels proving leaky, they left it, and embarked in one vessel, which arrived at Cape Cod on the ninth of November, one thousand six hundred and twenty. Sad was the condition of these poor men, who had winter before them, and no accommodations on land for their entertainment: most of them were in a weak and sickly condition with the voyage, but there was no remedy: they therefore mann'd their long-boat; and having coasted the shore, at length found a tolerable harbour, where they landed their effects, and on the twenty-fifth of December began to build a store-house, and some small cottages to preserve them from the weather. Their company was divided into nineteen families, each family having an allotment of land for lodging and gardens, in proportion to the number of persons of which it consisted; and, to prevent disputes, the situation of each family was decided by lot. They agreed likewise upon some laws for their civil and military government, and having chosen a governor, they called the place of their settlement by the name of *New Plymouth*.

These

These new planters underwent great hardships when they first went over, and many of them died through the fatigues of their voyage, and a distemper which raged among them. Their friends in England sent them supplies, and notwithstanding all difficulties they maintained their station, and laid the foundation of one of the noblest settlements in America; which has proved an asylum to many Non-conformists since that time.

King James, though he had shewed much zeal for the doctrine of Calvin at the synod of Dort, began now to change his opinion, and expressed a manifest partiality to those of the arminian persuasion. He preferred some of them to the best bishoprics in England, and heaped favours upon them in the most liberal manner. Buckridge, Laud, Neil, and Harneſt, were now his particular favourites; for though they differed widely from James in their religious principles, they agreed with him in the notions of the prerogative, which made an atonement for all imperfections. This gave rise to the distinction of state and church Puritans: those who did not agree with the King's notion of prerogative and arbitrary power were called state Puritans, and those who held by the doctrines of Calvin were called church Puritans. The King protected the Arminians and Papists, because they were friends to the prerogative: these formed a faction in the state, which opposed the laws and constitution of the nation. These parties in a short time grew up into a hatred to each other, which ended in great calamities to the kingdom.



1621. King James finding that he could not find money to answer his purpose, and understanding that his character was despised by other nations, began to think of calling a parliament, from whom he thought he might squeeze a little money to spend on his diversions. This parliament assembled on the twentieth of January, one thousand six hundred and twenty-one, when his Majesty told them, that he considered them to be no other than his council, to give him advice as to what he should ask. It is the King (says he) that makes laws, and ye are to advise him to make such as will be best for the commonwealth. He commanded them not to hunt after grievances, but to be quick and expeditious in giving him money. Though the parliament did not give much credit to the King's speech, yet they voted him two subsidies, and the clergy granted three; after this they proceeded to consider grievances; upon which the King adjourned both houses, which had never been done by any of his predecessors. This highly offended the commons, and made them draw up a declaration against his proceedings, with which he was no way pleased. When the parliament assembled in the month of November, they drew up a remonstrance, wherein they represented the danger the protestant religion was in from the growth of popery, and the frequent assemblies of the papists, both in the city of London and in the country, from the education of Gentlemen's children in popish seminaries, and the publishing of popish books: and they prayed his Majesty to take the sword in his hand

hand to recover the Palatinate, and to put the laws in execution against the papists; to break off the Spanish match, and to marry his son to a protestant Princess. James, as soon as he heard of this remonstrance, sent a letter to the Speaker from Newmarket, to inform the house, that he absolutely forbade them to meddle with any thing concerning his government, or with his son's match; and to keep them in awe, he declared, that he thought himself at liberty to punish any man's misdemeanors in parliament, as well during their sitting, as after, which he meant not to spare hereafter, on occasion of any man's insolent behaviour in the house. In answer to this letter, the commons drew up a petition, to present with a remonstrance, against the attack which the King had made upon their privileges. To this the King answered, that he denied their privileges; and what they called their undoubted right, was only owing to the favour of his predecessors. The commons drew up a protestation, maintaining their claim, and caused it to be entered in their journal book; but when the King came to London, he declared the protestation null, and tore it out of the book with his own hand. A few days after he dissolved the parliament, and issued forth a proclamation, forbidding all his subjects to talk of state affairs. He also committed the leading members to prison, sent some to Ireland, and others to the Tower.

The papists were now every where encouraged, and the Puritans oppressed; the new Bishops exerted themselves with great activity, and

1622.

and filled the pulpits with men agreeable to the disposition of the court, and the superstition of the times; those who dared to differ from the received opinion of the court and the Bishops, were punished in the severest manner. One Mr Knight this year, in a sermon before the University of Oxford, from 2 Kings xix. 9. advanced the following proposition, that subordinate magistrates might lawfully make use of force, and defend themselves, the common wealth, and the true religion, in the field, against the chief magistrate, within the cases and conditions following: (1) When the chief magistrate turns tyrant. (2) When he forces his subjects upon blasphemy and idolatry. (3) When intolerable burdens or oppressures are laid upon them. (4) When resistance is the only expedience to secure their lives, their fortunes, and the liberties of their consciences. The court being informed of this sermon, sent for the preacher, and asked him what authority he had for this assertion? He answered, Pareus on Romans xiii. but that his principle authority was King James himself, who was sending assistance to the people of Rochelle against their natural prince. For this bold answer, Mr Knight was sent to the Gatehouse, and the commentaries of Pareus were burnt at London and Oxford. The reader may easily judge how consistent this was with the conduct of King James in assisting the Huguenots against the King of France.

But to distress the Puritans more effectually, King James sent the following instructions to the Arch-

Archbishop to be communicated to the clergy of his own province, dated from Windsor, August the tenth, one thousand six hundred and twenty-two.

1. That no preacher under a bishop or dean, shall make a set discourse, or fall into any common place of divinity in his sermons, not comprehended in the thirty-nine articles.

2. That no parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer, shall preach any sermon hereafter, on Sundays or Holy-days, in the afternoon, but expound the catechism, creed, or commandments; and that those be most encouraged who catechise children only.

3. That no preacher under a bishop or dean, presume to preach in any popular auditory on the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation; or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility, of God's grace.

4. That no preacher of any degree soever, shall henceforth presume in any auditory to declare, limit, or set bounds to the prerogative power, or jurisdiction of sovereign princes, or meddle with matters of state.

5. That no preacher shall use railing speeches against Papists or Puritans, but endeavour to free the doctrine and discipline of the church, in a grave manner, from the aspersions of both adversaries.

6. That the Archbishop and Bishops be more wary for the future, in licencing preachers; and that all lecturers throughout the kingdom be  
licenced

licenced in the court of faculties, by recommendation from the Bishop of the diocese, with a fiat from the Archbishop, and a confirmation under the great seal of England.

Those that offended against any of those injunctions, were to be suspended *ab officio & beneficio* for a year and a day, till his Majesty should prescribe some further punishment with advice of the convocation.

From these directions it appears, that King James had abated much in his zeal for the calvinistic doctrine, when he wanted to restrain all the inferior clergy from preaching or lecturing on some of the capital doctrines of that system. Even the thirty-nine article, which were established by the laws of the land, were not to be handled by any but Bishops and Deans. James was afraid that his subjects should be too wise, and then the doctrine of his prerogative, and the passive obedience of subjects, would not be implicitly received.

Archbishop Abbot happened this year to commit a deed which made him retire from court, and rendered him unserviceable to the Puritans, to whom he was a great friend. Lord Zouch invited the Bishop to a buck-hunting in Bramhill-park, in Hampshire, and while the keeper was running among the deer, to bring them to a better mark, the Archbishop sitting on horseback, let fly a barbed arrow, and shot the keeper under the arm-pit, and killed him dead on the spot. This accident distressed him so much, that he retired from court, and lived in private. There was now

no

no opposition in the council to the arbitrary measures of the court; the violent proceedings against the Puritans went on, which caused many of them to retire to America, and popery increased fast. The new promotions in court were all in favour of popery; and the Spanish match, which was now in agitation, promoted it prodigiously. This match was begun in the year one thousand six hundred and seventeen, and lengthened out for the space of seven years, till the palatinate was lost, and the protestant religion in a great measure extirpated out of the kingdom of Bohemia and other parts of Germany, and then it was broken off. The nation complained of this match, and few, except the papists and the King's favourite (Buckingham) were for it. The subjects remonstrated against it, but James was too wise in his own conceit to listen to the remonstrances of his people. He put both the peace of his kingdom and the protestant religion into the power of the Spaniard, by sending his son, with the Duke of Buckingham to Madrid, to bring home the Infanta. This was a piece of confidence which James placed in the Spaniards, which favoured more of rashness than wisdom. It is reported, that after the Prince was gone, that Archy, the the King's fool, clapped his cap on the King's head. When the King asked him the reason, he said, it was because he had sent his son to Spain; but says his Majesty, what if he should return safe? Why then says Archy, I will take my cap from your head, and put it on the King of

Spain's. The Spaniards did all they could to convert Charles, and it is manifest, he gave them some reason to think that he was not averse to popery; but the delays which were made on the side of the court of Rome, rather disgusted him at their dishonesty than their religion. The Pope and Charles exchanged some very complementary letters, from which it appears, that this Prince was not very strictly bound by the protestant religion. He gave the Pope reason to expect, that when he came to the crown, there should be but one religion in his dominions, and addressed him by the title of most Holy Father. The marriage was however broken, some say by the influence of Buckingham upon the Prince, who ordered the Earl of Bristol not to deliver the proxy, till the time limited by the Pope's dispensation was expired, which was the occasion of putting an end to the match, and obliged the King to recal his ambassador.

1624. From this time the Prince and Duke seemed to favour the Puritans, the Duke took Doctor Preston, one of their chief ministers, into his service, to consult concerning the alienating dean and chapter lands to the purpose of preaching the gospel. They also advised the King to call a parliament, which he did, and made such a speech to them, that few could have thought it possible to have come from the same mouth that delivered the former speech which he made. Speaking of the Spanish match, he says, I assure you, on the faith of a Christian King, that

that it is *res integra* presented unto you, and that I stand not bound, nor either way engaged, but remain free to follow what shall be best advised. And he adds, I can truly say, and will avouch it before the seat of God and Angels, that never King governed with a purer heart than I have done, far from ill will, and meaning of the least error and imperfection in my reign. It has been talked of my remissness in maintainance of religion, and suspicion of a toleration of popery; but as God shall judge me, I never thought nor meant, nor ever in word expressed any thing that favoured of it. I never, in all my treaties, agreed to any thing to overthrow or disannul those laws, but had in all a chief regard to the preservation of that truth which I have ever professed. But those who please to read the articles of the marriage which James agreed to, and swore to observe, will see that there was very little truth in this declaration.\*

B b b 2

The

*Articles Sworn by the King.*

1. That the marriage be made by dispensation of the Pope, but that to be procured by the endeavour of the King of Spain.

2. That the marriage be once only celebrated in Spain, and ratified in England, in form following; in the morning after the most gracious Infanta hath ended her devotions in the chapel, she, and the most excellent Prince Charles, shall meet in the King's chapel, or in some other room of the palace, where it shall seem most expedient; and there shall be read all the procurations, by virtue whereof the marriage was celebrated in Spain; and as well the most excellent Prince, as the most excellent Infanta, shall ratify the said marriage celebrated in Spain, with all solemnity necessary for such an act; so as no ceremony, or other thing intervene, which shall be contrary to the Roman catholic apostolic religion.

3. That



The Parliament depending upon the King's representation of matters, advised him to break off the match, and declare war for the recovery of the palatinate; and petitioned his Majesty, that all jesuits and seminary priests might be commanded to depart the kingdom; that the laws be put in execution

3. That the most gracious Infanta shall take with her such servants and family as are convenient for her service; which family, and all persons to her belonging, shall be chosen and nominated by the catholic King; so as he nominate no servant which is vassal to the King of Great Britain, without his will and consent.

4. That as well the most gracious Infanta, as all her servants and family, shall have free use and public exercise of the Roman catholic religion, in manner and form as is beneath capitulated.

5. That she shall have an oratory and decent chapel in her palace, where, at the pleasure of the most gracious Infanta, mass may be celebrated; and in like manner, she shall have in London, or wheresoever she shall make her abode, a public and capacious church near her palace, wherein all duties may be solemnly celebrated, and all other things necessary for the public preaching of God's word, the celebration and administration of all the sacraments of the catholic Roman church, and for burial of the dead, and baptizing of children. That the said oratory, church, and chapel, shall be adorned with such decency, as shall seem convenient to the most gracious Infanta.

6. That the men-servants and maid-servants of the most gracious Infanta, and their servants, children, and descendants, and all their families, of what sort soever, serving her highness, may be freely and publicly catholics.

7. That the most gracious Infanta, her servants and family, may live as catholics in form following: that the most gracious Infanta shall have in her palace, her oratory and chapel, so spacious, that her said servants and family may enter and stay therein; in which there shall be an ordinary and public door for them, and another inward door, by which the Infanta may have a passage into the said chapel, where she and others, as abovesaid, may be present at divine offices.

8. That the chapel, church, and oratory may be beautified with decent ornaments of altars, and other things necessary for divine service, which is to be celebrated in them, according to the custom of the holy Roman church; and that it shall be lawful for the said servants  
and

execution against popish recusants; that all such might be removed from the court, and not be allowed to come within ten miles of London.

James made a a very remarkable answer to this petition, which, as it proceeded from the lips of one who was accounted by his friends the Solomon of the age, will appear surprizing to all persons of understanding, " What religion I am of " says he, my books declare; I wish it may be  
"written

and others, to go to the said chapel and church at all hours, as to them shall seem expedient.

9. That the care and custody of the said chapel and church, shall be committed to such as the Lady Infanta shall appoint, to whom it shall be lawful to appoint keepers, that nobody may enter into them to do any indecent thing.

10. That to the administration of the sacraments, and to serve in chapel and church aforesaid, there shall be four and twenty priests and assistants, who shall serve weekly or monthly, as to the Infanta shall seem fit; and the election of them shall belong to the Lady Infanta, and the catholic King, provided that they be none of the vassals of the King of Great Britain; and if they be, his will and consent is to be first obtained.

11. That there be one superior minister or bishop, with necessary authority upon all occasions which shall happen belonging to religion; and for want of a bishop, that his vicar may have his authority and jurisdiction.

12. That this bishop or superior minister may correct and chastise all Roman catholics who shall offend, and shall exercise upon them all jurisdiction ecclesiastical: and moreover also, the Lady Infanta shall have power to put them out of her service whensoever it shall seem expedient to her.

13. That it may be lawful for the Lady Infanta and her servants to procure from Rome, dispensations, indulgences, jubilees, and all graces as shall seem fit to their religion and consciences, and to get and make use of any manner of catholic books whatsoever.

14. That the servants and family of the Lady Infanta, who shall come to England, shall take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain; provided, that there be no clause therein which shall be contrary to their consciences, and the Roman catholic religion; and  
if

“written in marble, and remain to posterity, as  
 “a mark upon me, when I shall swerve from  
 “my religion; for he that dissembles with God  
 “is not to be trusted by men. I protest before  
 “God, that my heart hath bled when I have  
 “heard of the encrease of popery. God is my  
 “judge, it has been such a grief to me, that it  
 “has been as thorns in my eyes, and pricks in  
 “my sides. It hath been my desire to hinder the  
 “growth of popery, and I could not have been  
 “an honest man if I had done otherwise. I will  
 “order the laws to be put in execution against  
 popish

if they happen to be vassals to the King of Great Britain, they shall take the same oath that the Spaniards do.

15. That the laws which are or shall be in England against religion, shall not take hold of the said servants; and only the aforesaid superior ecclesiastical catholics, may proceed against ecclesiastical persons, as has been accustomed by catholics; and if any secular judge shall apprehend any ecclesiastical person for any offence, he shall forthwith cause him to be delivered to the aforesaid superior ecclesiastic, who shall proceed against him according to the canon law.

16. That the laws made against catholics in England, or in any other kingdom of the King of Great Britain, shall not extend to the children of this marriage; and tho' they be catholics, they shall not lose the right of succession to the kingdom and dominions of Great Britain.

17. That the nurses which shall give suck to the children of the Lady Infanta (whether they be of the kingdom of Great Britain, or of any other nation whatsoever) shall be chosen by the Lady Infanta, as she pleaseth, and shall be accounted of her family, and enjoy the privileges thereof.

18. That the Bishop, ecclesiastical and religious persons of the family of the Lady Infanta, shall wear the vestments and habit of their dignity, profession, and religion, after the custom of Rome.

19. For security that the said matrimony be not dissolved for any cause whatsoever, the King and Prince are equally to pass the word and honour of a King; and moreover, that they will perform whatsoever shall be propounded by the catholic King for further confirmation, if it may be done decently and fitly.

“popish recusants, as they were before these treaties; for the laws are still in being, and were never dispensed with by me: God is my judge, they were never so intended.”

King James seems to have been a Prince whose conscience was not easily alarmed, when he could appeal to heaven against the plainest and strongest matters of fact; for though he told his parliament, that his heart bled when he heard of the encrease of popery, yet this same parliament presented him with a list of fifty popish lords and knights, who were in public offices, none of which  
were

20. That the sons and daughters which shall be born of this marriage, shall be brought up in the company of the most excellent infants, at the least, until the age of ten years, and shall freely enjoy the right of succession to the kingdoms, as aforesaid.

21. That, whensoever any place of either man-servant or maid-servant, which the Lady Infanta shall bring with her (nominated by the catholic King her brother) shall happen to be void, whether by death, or by other cause or accident, all the said servants of her family are to be supplied by the catholic King, as aforesaid.

22. For security, that whatsoever is capitulated may be fulfilled, the King of Great Britain and Prince Charles are to be bound by oath; and all the King's council shall confirm the said treaty under their hands: moreover, the said King and Prince are to give their faiths, in the word of a King, to endeavour, if possible, that whatsoever is capitulated may be established by parliaments.

23. That conformable to this treaty, all these things proposed, are to be allowed and approved of by the Pope, that he may give an apostolical benediction, and a dispensation necessary to effect the marriage.

There was besides these, four private articles,—That the laws against Roman catholics should not be put in execution;—that no new laws should be made against them;—That no influence should be used by the King or any others, to persuade the Infanta to change her religion;—That King James and Charles should use their endeavours with the parliament, to prevail with them to confirm the Roman catholic religion. These articles may serve to shew the sincerity of King James the First, with regard to his grief concerning the encrease of popery.. *Rapin,*

were displaced, while the Puritan ministers were driven out of the kingdom, and hardly a gentleman of that character, preferred to the dignity of a justice of the peace.

The King, instead of going on with the war as the parliament desired, prorogued this assembly, and entered into a treaty with Lewis the thirteenth of France, for his sister Henrietta Maria. On this occasion, the Archbishop of Ambrun was sent into England, who told the King, that the best way to accomplish the match for his son, was to grant a toleration to the catholics : James replied, that he intended to do so, and was willing to have an assembly of divines to compromise the difference between the protestants and the papists, and promised to send a letter to the Pope to crave his assistance in accomplishing this project. This letter James wrote, and styles his Holiness, Christ's Vicar, and head of the church universal; and assures him, that he will declare himself a catholic as soon as he was able to provide against the inconveniences of such a declaration: As an evidence of the truth of this declaration, he relaxed the laws against the papists, and allowed Ambrun to administer the sacrament to ten thousand papists at the door of the French Embassador's house, before a large concourse of people.

In the mean time the treaty of marriage went on, and was at last signed on the tenth of November, in thirty-three articles, and three secret ones, wherein even greater advantages were granted to the catholics, than in the treaty  
at

at Madrid; but before the Pope's dispensation could be procured, King James fell sick, at Theobald's, of a Tertian ague, which put a period to his life, on the twenty-seventh day of March, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Some <sup>1625.</sup> have affirmed that he was poisoned, and Buckingham was suspected of the crime; but it does not appear, that this was firmly believed; otherwise some notice had been taken thereof by the King's friends. He was indeed impeached afterwards by the commons, for administering plaisters to the King without the advice of his physicians, but there is no mention made of their suspicion of his poisoning him.

King James was a person of a middle stature, but of a disagreeable presence: he wore a great quantity of cloaths, all quilted, which were sufficient to have resisted a dagger; these hung very loose upon him: his tongue was too large for his mouth, which made him speak ungracefully. James's character is not easily ascertained from what is said of him by historians; some have extolled him as the Solomon of the age, while others have accounted him little more than a fool. It appears from his history, that he was a vain weak man, and a great coward; he was wise in letters, but wanted a sufficient degree of common sense. He was perhaps the most learned, and the most ignorant King that ever sat upon the British throne. His knowledge was chiefly confined to books of controversy, puns, and quibbles. George Buchannan had taught him to read

books; but he wanted genius, which Buchanan could not give him. He loved ease and pleasure, and neglected the affairs of the nation; which he suffered to fall into disgrace, through a meanness of spirit which was natural to him. The state of affairs in Great Britain, were in confusion during the government of King James; and though he preserved peace during his reign, he left the seeds of discord in the nation, which at last tumbled his family from the throne. What were his principles of religion, it is impossible to tell certainly; for he was ready to profess any form thereof that flattered his pride, and favoured his prerogative; he was presbyterian, episcoparian, calvinist, arminian, and papist by turns. In what religion he died, no person can tell, for it does not appear, that he made any profession thereof at his death. Upon the whole he was a tyrant, as all cowards are when they are out of danger; he governed according to his pleasure, contrary to the laws of the land, and persecuted those who would not submit to his arbitrary dictates.

King James fell into an error which he persisted in to the last; he committed the direction of all affairs in church and state to two favourites, and never examined their conduct, provided they gave him no trouble. In all his conduct, he appears to have been a great dissembler, and a consummate hypocrite as far as he had genius to disguise his sentiments. He brought England into disgrace with her neighbours; and died unlamented by all true lovers of civil and religious liberty.

BOOK

## B O O K V L

**T**HE reign of King James the First is remarkable for three things; the encrease of popery; the progress of non-conformity under persecution; and looseness and irreligion at court, and among the established clergy. Popery and sabbath-breaking prevailed, and the King was a supporter of both: the non-conformists encreased, notwithstanding the opposition of the court, and the tyranny of the Bishops; their zeal for religion, and patience under sufferings, caused many to examine the merits of their cause, and espouse it, who probably would never have thought of it, had not the sufferings of the Puritans awakened them to consider the reason of their brethren's persecution. As they proceeded in their enquiries, they found that their cause was good, and in process of time, joined with them in the same attempts, and took part with them in their sufferings. The wide strides which James made towards arbitrary power in things civil, caused the subjects to have a worse opinion of that religion of which he was the head, and the more they perceived his zeal for the hierarchy, they were the more suspicious that he intended to wreath the yoke of slavery about their necks; for this reason, their opposition to his measures encreased with their jealousy for their own rights and privileges. There were not wanting persons of rank



fortune, who, though they did not appear openly in opposition to the measures of the court, yet promoted secretly the disgust of the subjects against the unpopular proceedings of the ministry. Religion is a plausible topic, which more easily inflames the passions than any other; they therefore insinuated to the populace, that the King meant to deprive them of the rights of conscience, and intended to introduce popery. James had given but too much reason to raise those suspicions, and they fixed deeply in the minds of many of his subjects: they at last operated as principles, and were received as undoubted truths. It is still problematical, whether he designed to introduce popery; but from the measures which he pursued, it was then firmly believed, and till this day affirmed by many, that he intended it.

King Charles came to the crown at the age of twenty-five years; he was born in Dumfermline, in Scotland, in the year one thousand six hundred, and baptized according to the form of the presbyterian religion. When he was young, he was of a weakly constitution, and stammered much in his speech; his legs were crooked, and he was suspected to be of a perverse disposition\*. When James was preferred to the throne of England, he took Prince Charles from his Scotch tutors, and placed him under governors, who instilled into his mind an aversion to the form of religion in Scotland, which made him ever after have a dislike to all the presbyterians, both in England and Scotland.

\* Eachard.

Scotland. Charles had a strong bias to popery, and shewed it on many occasions; his journey to Spain made an ill impression upon him; for, ever after, he appeared to lean towards Rome, and though he expressed a great regard in words for the protestant religion, his conduct gave strong suspicion, that he was more papist than protestant. His complimentary letters to the Pope, and his declaration that he would not marry any mortal, whose religion he hated, all confirmed the suspicion, that King Charles was more than half a Roman catholic.

Charles began his reign upon the most arbitrary principles, and prostituted good abilities to the worst of purposes: he gave himself up to the government of a favourite, who had no principles at all, who abused the trust that was reposed in him to the hurt of the nation, and the disgrace of his Sovereign.

Buckingham was a man very unfit for the station of a minister; his pride, and a conceit of his own abilities, made him despise others, and he thought that subjects were born for no other purpose, than to be slaves to sovereigns and their ministers. Charles believed these principles thoroughly, and pursued them to his own ruin: he never was able to discern his own and the nation's true interest, nor would he listen to those who advised him to consider it. With regard to church affairs, he was pious and punctual in observing ceremonies, but hated all men who did not agree with him in the modes of worship which

which he embraced; his religion was more splend-  
ed than rational, and he appears to have had  
more of the form of godliness than the spirit  
thereof.

King Charles married a daughter of the French  
King before the solemnity of his father's funeral  
was over, and the marriage was solemnized at  
Paris, according to the ceremonies of the church of  
Rome. It was afterwards solemnized according to  
the form of the church of England; the articles  
were much the same with those that were former-  
ly agreed upon with Spain. This marriage filled  
the kingdom with Romish priests, and the court  
with a train of servants devoted to the catholic  
religion; for whose religious devotions a chapel  
was fitted up in the King's palace at St James's,  
with necessary accoutrements for the exercise of  
the catholic religion. The Queen was an agree-  
able person, and had a perfect ascendance over  
the King, he could refuse her nothing, but held  
her in perfect adoration. Her Majesty was a Lady  
of fine address and great vivacity, and knew the  
arts of engaging others into a liking of her per-  
son, by which she frequently brought them over  
to her measures: she had the management of the  
King, which produced many misfortunes to the  
nation; for whatever was pleasing to her, it was  
not in his power to refuse.

The Queen was a great bigot to popery, and  
was entirely under the government of her con-  
fessor, and the priests who attended her; these  
directed her conscience, and managed her, and she  
directed

directed the King; so the nation was governed altogether by popish counsels, until the time of the long parliament.

Upon the death of Buckingham, Dr Laud Bishop of London, became Prime Minister, both in church and state: He was a person of arbitrary principles, and thought by all who knew him to be much inclined to popery. In the reign of James, he endeavoured to instil into his mind high notions of the prerogative, and advised him to pursue in practice those arbitrary principles which he knew the King was fond of. What he had advised the father, he continued to persuade the son to pursue; and by his ill council, brought his sovereignty and himself to an untimely end. All regard to the laws of the land was laid aside; the judges were only suffered to continue during the pleasure of the King, and removed whenever they refused to pursue the measures of the court. When the prerogative was intended to be stretched in any particular case, Laud would send for the judges to have their opinion before hand, to give sanction to his proceeding in the council and star chamber; when he would put them in mind, that if they did not do his Majesty's business to satisfaction, they would be soon removed from their office.

The judges at this time were mercenary, and according to the noble historian,\* scandalous to their profession. Lord Chief Justice Finch was a man of little knowledge in his profession, and was

\* Lord Clarendon.

was a mere dupe to Laud, and the measures of the court. He preferred the orders of council to the laws of the land, and never minded any statute when his interest came in the way. *Noy*, Attorney-General, was a proud haughty man, of a furlly disposition; his chief qualification was to make that law, which all men knew was neither according to law nor reason; by this means he was despised by all who loved liberty and the laws of their country.

The council table was now the legislature of the kingdom, and royal proclamations had all the force of acts of parliaments; rules of government were substituted in place of the laws of the land, and the judges assented to whatever council commanded. There was now no law regarded; the fiat of the council, which was entirely the voice of Laud, ~~was~~ created or annulled laws at pleasure. Proclamations came now forth faster than acts of parliaments were wont to do, and the judges from the bench declared them to be equal to laws. The star chamber was much of the same sort with the council, for the same judges presided in both; they grew both into courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring in money to the treasury. The council gave forth their orders for laws, and the star chamber punished those who were disobedient to those orders. The judges in this inquisitorial sanhedrim imposed enormous fines upon such subjects as were not willing to submit to their arbitrary determinations, and imprisoned and punished every delinquent according

cording to their pleasure. As those judges it in their power to divide the profits arising from these fines among themselves, they care to assess offenders as high as possible, that the emoluments might afford each of them a larger dividend. By this means many were totally ruined in their circumstances, and others suffered to pine away in prison with want and distress.

The high commission court grew at this time to a terrible height; instead of endeavouring to reform the manners of the nation, which was its professed design, it became a court of oppression, equal to any inquisition. The judges fined and imprisoned the subjects at pleasure, as if they had been criminal judges; by this means St Paul's church was repaired, which made some observe, that this church was built with the sin of the high commissioners who had no other employment, but to oppress the people. The high commissioners were allowed to inspect the Bishops, and themselves did enough of mischief, and universal detestation for their oppression. Laud took care to keep the Bishops in awe, if any was suspected of being any way favourable to the Puritans, he was immediately sent for to Lambeth, to appear before the High Commissioners, and instantly ruined. They kept men in prison for many months without bringing them to a trial, or without so much as acquainting them with the reason of their commitment. This court was worse than the Spanish inquisition; for the

was a mere dupe to Laud, and the measures of the court. He preferred the orders of council to the laws of the land, and never minded any statute when his interest came in the way. *Noy*, Attorney-General, was a proud haughty man, of a furlly disposition; his chief qualification was to make that law, which all men knew was neither according to law nor reason; by this means he was despised by all who loved liberty and the laws of their country.

The council table was now the legislature of the kingdom, and royal proclamations had all the force of acts of parliaments; rules of government were substituted in place of the laws of the land, and the judges assented to whatever council commanded. There was now no law regarded; the fiat of the council, which was entirely the voice of Laud, ~~was~~ created or annulled laws at pleasure. Proclamations came now forth faster than acts of parliaments were wont to do, and the judges from the bench declared them to be equal to laws. The star chamber was much of the same sort with the council, for the same judges presided in both; they grew both into courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring in money to the treasury. The council gave forth their orders for laws, and the star chamber punished those who were disobedient to those orders. The judges in this inquisitorial sanhedrim imposed enormous fines upon such subjects as were not willing to submit<sup>to</sup> their arbitrary determinations, and imprisoned and punished every delinquent according

cording to their pleasure. As those judges had it in their power to divide the profits arising from these fines among themselves, they took care to assess offenders as high as possible, that the emoluments might afford each of them a larger dividend. By this means many were totally ruined in their circumstances, and others suffered to pine away in prison with want and distress.

The high commission court grew at this time to a terrible height; instead of endeavouring to reform the manners of the nation, which was its professed design, it became a court of oppression, equal to any inquisition. The judges fined and imprisoned the subjects at pleasure, as if they had been criminal judges; by this means St Paul's church was repaired, which made some observe, that this church was built with the sins of the people.\* The high commissioners were not satisfied with their own employment, but went over the whole kingdom to inspect the Bishops' courts, which of themselves did enough of mischief, and were held in universal detestation for their oppressive acts. Laud took care to keep the Bishops in awe; for if any was suspected of being any way favourable to the Puritans, he was immediately sent for to Lambeth, to appear before the High Commissioners, and instantly ruined. They kept men in prison for many months without bringing them to a trial, or without so much as acquainting them with the reason of their commitment. This court was worse than the Spanish inquisition; for

Vol. II. D d d the

\* Clarendon.



the inquisition only punishes persons of a different religion; but this high commission ruined hundreds of ministers, who were of the same persuasion with the judges of that court, merely to obtain money to enrich themselves, though the persons they condemned were not guilty of any breach of law.

Arminianism now advanced fast; it was the court opinion, and the professing of it the ready way to preferment. Laud and Buckingham promoted it, and the King gave it this sanction, by honouring those who professed it. His Majesty's Chaplains were all of the Arminian persuasion, and none were preferred to this honour except such as professed the Arminian principles. Doctor Preston, whom Buckingham had taken into favour to serve the ends of his politics, was now discarded, and Laud was the sole director of his conscience: all matters in church and state were managed by his direction. Bishop Laud wanted to have the five distinguishing points of Calvinism brought into the convocation, on purpose to have them exploded; but Bishop Andrews advised him to drop that point, because Archbishop Abbot and many of the inferior clergy were Calvinists; this kept the controversy out of the convocation at this time. But there was a warm dispute without doors concerning these matters, till the King put a stop to it by his proclamation.

Popery and Arminianism kept pace in their progress, and raised warm disputes between Charles and his parliament, which met on the sixteenth of June

June this year. The King in his speech to his parliament, promised to maintain the established religion, for which both houses returned him their grateful thanks; but before they proceeded to business, they joined in a petition against popish recusants, which his Majesty promised to examine, and gave a satisfactory answer to the several contents thereof. This petition sets forth the causes of the increase of popery, with the remedies and means to prevent it.\* Charles's answers to this petition.

*\* The causes are :*

1. The want of the due execution of the laws against them.
2. The interposing of foreign powers by their ambassadors and agents in their favour.
3. The great concourse of papists to the city, and their frequent conferences and conventicles there.
4. Their open resort to the chapel of foreign ambassadors.
5. The education of their children in foreign seminaries.
6. The want of sufficient instruction in the protestant religion in several places of the country.
7. The licentious printing of popish books.
8. The employment of men ill affected to the protestant religion in places of government.

They therefore pray that the youth of the kingdom may be carefully educated under protestant school-masters, which his Majesty, in his answer to their petition, promised: That the ancient discipline of the universities may be restored, which his Majesty approved: That the preaching of the word of God may be enlarged, and that to this purpose the Bishops be advised to make use of the labours of such able ministers as have been formerly silenced, advising and beseeching them to behave themselves peaceably; and that pluralities, non-residencies, and commendams, may be moderated. This his Majesty approved, so far as the ministers would conform to church government. But he apprehended that pluralities, &c. are now so moderated, that there is no room for complaint, and recommends it to the parliament to take care that every parish allow a competent maintenance for an able

petition were expressly contrary to the articles of marriage he had signed six months before : he had promised in these articles, that his Roman catholic subjects should have free liberty to exercise their own religion without disturbance ; and immediately after he had granted the petition of the parliament, he set twenty popish priests

at  
able minister. " That provision might be made against transporting children to popish seminaries, and for recalling those that were there." Answer, To this his Majesty agreed. " That no popish recusant be admitted to come to court, but upon special occasion, according to statute 3 Jac." Answer, To this also his Majesty promised. " That the laws against papists be put in execution, and that a day be fixed for the departure of all jesuits and seminary priests out of the kingdom, and that no natural born subject, nor strange Bishops, nor any other, by authority from the see of Rome, confer any ecclesiastical orders, to exercise any ecclesiastical function upon your Majesty's subjects." Answer, It shall be so published by proclamation. " That your Majesty's learned council may have orders to consider of all former grants of recusants' lands, that such may be avoided as are avoidable by law." Answer, It shall be done according as is desired. " That your Majesty give order to your judges, and all officers of justice, to see the laws against popish recusants duly executed." Answer, His Majesty leaves the laws to their course. " That your Majesty will remove, from places of authority and government, all popish recusants." Answer, His Majesty will give order accordingly. " That order be taken for disarming all popish recusants, convicted according to law, and that popish recusants be commanded to retire to their houses, and be confined within five miles of home." Answer, The law shall be put in execution. " That none of your Majesty's natural born subjects go to hear mass at the houses or chapels of foreign ambassadors." Answer, The King will give orders accordingly. " That the statute of 1 Eliz. for the payment of twelvecence every Sunday by such as are absent from divine service in the church, without a lawful excuse, be put in execution." Answer, The King promises the penalties shall not be dispensed with. " That your Majesty will extend your principal care to Ireland, that the like courses may be taken there, for establishing the true religion." Answer, His Majesty will do all that a religious King can do in that affair.

at liberty. In this and the proceeding reign, it was a received maxim, that no faith was to be kept with parliaments. The King commanded the judges to proceed against popish recusants, at the same time that he was encouraging them all that was in his power; such was the duplicity of Charles, that at the time that he had ordered all English youths to return from popish seminaries, he released eleven popish priests, and admitted a titular popish Bishop, called the Bishop of Chalcedon, appointed Vicar General by the Pope, and Archdeacon over all England; and afterwards, when the parliament petitioned for the removal of papists from places of trust, there were found fifty-nine noblemen and gentlemen in his Majesty's commission.

What may appear strange in the eyes of all honest men, his Majesty, while he was giving orders to proceed against popish recusants, sent a fleet to Rochelle to assist the French King against the protestants, and gave orders, that this fleet should obey the orders of the King of France. The sailors, when they were informed of the design, refused to obey orders, and deserted; but the ships were given up to the service of France, and employed against the friends of the protestant religion. One Montague wrote a book entitled, A Gag for an old Goose, wherein he defends all the special points of Arminianism, and reflects upon several doctrines of the reformation with much acrimony. The parliament complained of his conduct, and referred him to the Archbishop

bishop, who dismissed him with a prohibition not to give offence in this sort for the future : But Montague went on and published his appeal to Cesar, wherein he advanced all the Arminian doctrines, which were in dispute among the friends of the court and the patrons of prerogative. He also endeavoured to reconcile the religion of Rome, and that of England, and attempted to shew that there was very little difference between them. The house of commons appointed a committee to examine his errors, and at last voted them contrary to the established articles of the church of England. Laud applied to the King, and by a letter procured his quietus. The King brought this affair before his council, and by virtue of his prerogative, put a stop to all proceedings against Montague. These proceedings and his unpopular conduct, in the affair of Rochelle, raised great murmurings against him, which obliged him to dissolve the parliament at Oxford, where it was removed on account of the plague which then raged at London. His Majesty passed no acts during this sitting of parliament, except one, which was soon after suspended by his royal declaration ; this act was to prevent unlawful pastimes on the Sabbath-day. It set forth, that the keeping of the Lord's day holy, is a principal part of the true service of God ; for this cause it is enacted, that there be no assemblies of people out of their own parish churches, for any sports or pastimes whatsoever ; nor any bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, common-plays, or  
other

other unlawful exercises or pastimes within their own parishes, on forfeiture of three shillings and six pence for every such offence to the poor. This Law was never put in execution; but men were censured and reproached for being too strict in observing the Lord's day, but none were punished for profaning it.

King Charles having dissolved the parliament, before they had given him the necessary supplies for the war with Spain, resolved to try his credit by borrowing money by loans of such persons as were best able to lend it: For this reason, gentlemen were taxed at a certain sum, and had promissary notes under the privy seal to be paid in eighteen months. With this money, Charles fitted out a fleet against Spain, which returned without doing any execution. The ceremony of the coronation, which was not performed till February, was another expence which his Majesty thought fit to raise, by obliging all who had forty pounds a year to receive the order of knighthood, or to compound for it. This raised Charles many enemies, and was a very hard grievance, for it was an oppression upon many subjects who were not able to bear it.

The coronation was performed by Arch-  
 bishop Abbot, assisted by Bishop Laud 1626.  
 as Dean of Westminster, who, besides the usual formalities, brought out an old crucifix and placed it on the altar. As soon as the Archbishop had placed the crown upon the King's head, and performed the usual forms, his Majesty being seated

ed upon the throne ready to receive the homage of the lords, Bishop Laud came forth, and read the following extraordinary passage, which is not to be found in any former coronation: "Stand  
 "and hold fast from henceforth, the place to  
 "which you have been heir by the succession of  
 "your forefathers, being now delivered to you  
 "by the authority of Almighty God, and by the  
 "hands of us, and all the Bishops and servants  
 "of God: and as you see the clergy come  
 "nearer to the altar than others, so remember,  
 "that in all places convenient, you give them  
 "greater honour, that the Mediator of God and  
 "man may establish you on your kingly throne,  
 "to be a mediator between the clergy and the  
 "laity, and that you may reign for ever with  
 "Jesus Christ, the king of kings and lord of lords." Such profanity had never been heard of before on such an occasion; and Laud certainly deserved to have been censured for such absurd and profane proceedings. This abomination met him at last, when he was tried for several other malpractices, which cost him his head.

King Charles found that all the methods he could devise, were insufficient to raise supplies without a parliament; and as the war with Spain was still open, he was under a necessity of calling one: he was determined to do it speedily, but as he was afraid of those members being chosen who had complained of Buckingham's administration, and called out against grievances, the court marked those down for Sheriffs, which disqualified

fied them from being elected members of parliament. Among these were, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, and Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was afterwards Lord Stafford. The parliament assembled on the sixth of February this year; they were no sooner met, than they proceeded to consider grievances. A committee was appointed to examine religious grievances, and Mr. Pym was chosen chairman. This committee began with Montague's writings, viz. his Gag, his Appeal, and his Treatise of Invocation of Saints; from which they extracted many things which were contrary to the homilies and the articles of the church. In these books Montague maintained, "That the church of Rome is, and ever was a true church: That this said church had ever remained firm upon the same foundation of sacraments and doctrine instituted by God: That neither the doctrines of faith, hope, nor charity are contradicted between the papists and protestants, and that no man's soul is in any danger by being ignorant of those lesser matters, upon which those differences are founded: That the use of images is profitable for instructing the ignorant, and exciting devotion: That some saints have a peculiar patronage, custody, and power, as the angels have over certain persons and countries: That justified persons may fall away from grace, and may recover again, but not certainly or necessarily." The commons found that Montague had endeavoured to raise seditions among his Majesty's subjects, and had attempted



tempted to reconcile the subjects of England to popery. The King did not like those proceedings of the parliament, and therefore immediately dissolved this assembly.

The controversy concerning arminianism was now taken out of the hands of the parliament, and Montague rescued from their power; but the controversy went on, and Montague was attacked in print by many able disputants, who shewed the absurdity of his opinions, and defended the doctrines of scripture against the fictions of the Arminians. Soon after the dissolution of parliament, two conferences were held by the two parties to dispute the points in debate; but neither of them could convince the others of the errors they supposed them guilty of.

Doctor Preston made a conspicuous figure in these disputations, and appears to have been the most able advocate for the Calvinistic doctrine among all that party. Charles finding that these disputes did not end so favourably to his friends as he could have desired, issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons to publish or preach any thing concerning the Arminian controversy. This proclamation was conceived in such terms that any reader would have readily imagined that it was intended to promote the Calvinistic doctrine; for it threatens all persons, who write, preach, or publish any thing contrary to the doctrines and articles of the church of England; but its real intention was to give ease to Bishop Laud, and the friends of the prerogative. Laud had now  
the

the management of all things concerning religion; and took care to oppress the Puritans on all hands; he stopt the liberty of the press, and suffered no books to be published, except such as had his imprimature: For this purpose, he was careful to suffer no books which were written by the Puritans, to be published, without first, mutilating, and curtailing them, or causing them to speak a language they were never intended to express. On this occasion, Laud shewed a partiality, which raised a strong suspicion that he was a papist in his heart; he suffered several popish books to be printed at large, when he either hindered the publishing of Calvinist writings, or altered them in such a manner, as to change their real meaning. Montague's book, entitled God's Love to Mankind, was licensed, and published, when Dr Tuissie's reply to that book was suppress'd; and many popish performances were licensed, when no book written by any Puritan could obtain the same privilege. It was now even dangerous to call the Pope antichrist, or to say that the church of Rome was not a true church; every performance that tended to expose images in churches, crucifixes, penance, auricular confession, and popish absolution, must be expunged; for all such writings were accounted insults offered to the Queen. The Roman catholics had now liberty to write what they pleased, while the friends of the reformation were totally silenced.

The triumphs of arbitrary power were now  
E e e 2 pro-

prodigious; tyranny stalked like a monster over all the kingdom, and trampled under its feet the liberties and estates of all sorts of subjects: every gentlemen of birth and character, who refused to lend money upon the flimsy security of letters under the privy seal, were dragged out of their houses, and hauled to prison, at some great distance from their habitation and friends. Men of the first rank for character in the nation were treated like felons, for refusing to give away their property at the command of his Majesty's council, contrary to Magna Charta, and the laws of the land.

The inferior ranks of people were pressed for the army, or had soldiers quartered upon them, who by their insolent behaviour, disturbed the peace of families, and committed such barbarities, as heathens would have been ashamed of. It was now dangerous to travel abroad, and markets were unfrequented; the soldiery did what they pleased, none durst oppose them, and England groaned under a worse oppression, during the government of a superstitious christian King, than ever the Roman empire did under the worst of Emperors. It is no wonder that the people of England tremble at the thoughts of a Stewart's approaching the throne of their sovereign, when that family has, on various occasions, wrought such destruction to the nation, as must make every honest heart hold the name of Stewart in perpetual detestation. The history of these times, we are now considering, will be a memento to the people of Britain,

Britain, while the knowledge of letters remains, and warn them against trusting too much to Kings, Bishops, and Prime Ministers.

The nation at this time was cursed with a set of clergy, who, for the sake of money, would have taught the religion of Mahumed. Charles found the money he wanted came slowly in by the methods he had attempted, the clergy were therefore engaged to promote this business. They carried the King's prerogative to the pulpit, and loudly proclaimed the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; they taught that the will of the sovereign was a law, and that it was damnable to disobey what ever he should command; that provided the King should command what was contrary to the law of God, they ought to suffer punishment, but not oppose him. Some of them went so far as to affirm, that the King was bound by no law, but his royal will and pleasure was law above all parliaments; and that the subjects were obliged to obey him upon pain of damnation. Dr Sibthorp was one of the chief preachers who taught this doctrine, and dedicated his sermon to the King, but when he carried it to Archbishop Abbot to have it licensed, this honest old Bishop refused to do it; for which he was suspended from all his Archiepiscopal functions, and ordered to retire to Canterbury or Oxford. The sermon was then carried to Layd who licensed it, and recommended it as a learned discourse, quite agreeable to the doctrine of the primitive church. This shews the wilful ignorance

ignorance and wickedness of Laud and the clergy  
 of those times, who were not ashamed to publish  
 such glaring falsehoods to the world; for though  
 the primitive church strictly enjoined obedience to  
 the powers that be, yet none of the apostles or  
 primitive believers required subjects, who were  
 governed by established laws, to give up their  
 privileges to those who overturned the constitution  
 of their country, and wanted to enslave them  
 contrary to express fundamental laws agreed to be-  
 tween the sovereign and the nation. Those ar-  
 guments taken from the practice of the Christi-  
 ans under the heathen Emperors, are by no means  
 conclusive to enforce passive obedience upon sub-  
 jects who are themselves one branch of the le-  
 gislature, and who, by the laws of their country  
 know no such government as a single person ruling  
 according to his own pleasure. The friends of  
 passive obedience do not consider, that obedience  
 in England is due to the laws and not to the  
 King, and that when the chief magistrate tran-  
 gresseth the established laws of the nation, he  
 forfeits his title to obedience. Christians in Britain  
 are obliged by the ties of religion itself, to ob-  
 serve the laws of the constitution; but if they  
 should yield implicit subjection to the chief ma-  
 gistrate, when commanding them to do what the  
 laws forbid, they would be guilty of betraying  
 both their principles of religion, and the laws of  
 their country: People of such slavish sentiments  
 can never be true to either God or man; for  
 the tendency of their principles, destroys that  
 activity

activity which is necessary to make rational creatures exert their powers for the good of society.

Archbishop Abbot was under disgrace at court, and divested of his authority; 1627.

the accident which happened to him seven years before, was now made a matter of accusation against him; and though he had the royal dispensation to exercise his office, was now suspended for a casual homicide, to gratify the ambition of Laud, who was longing for his place. The court found Abbot was not a person to be made a tool of, and for this reason wanted to be clear of him: he would not pursue the measures which Laud meant to take with the Puritans; nor would he subscribe to the absolute dictates of the prerogative. It was therefore found necessary to suspend him, that he might not any longer oppose the glorious plan of prerogative and arbitrary power, which Charles and Laud intended to substitute in place of all laws, human and divine.

The court had another person who opposed their measures; Dr Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, late keeper of the great seal, was a great opposer of the arbitrary measures of those times. He favoured the Puritans, and was a very popular man among the clergy. Dr Sibthorp informed the council against him, and affirmed, that he supported the clergy who did not conform, and discouraged those who conformed. Dr Williams did not regard this information, for he said, he was under a cloud already, and was indifferent what they should inform the council concerning him; he said,

said, he was sure the Puritans would carry all things at last, and that would be seen in due time.

Lamb and Sibthorp had often pressed Bishop Williams to proceed against the Puritans in Leicestershire, but he did not listen to their advice. He asked them what sort of people they were, and of what condition? To which Lamb replied in the presence of Sibthorp, "that they seemed to the world  
"to be such as would not swear, whore, nor be  
"drunk, but yet they would lye, cozen, and deceive;  
"that they would frequent sermons twice a day, and  
"repeat the same again too, and afterwards pray,  
"and that sometimes they would fast all day long." Then the Bishop asked whether the place where those Puritans were, did lend money freely upon the collection for the loan? To which Lamb and Sibthorp said they did. Then replied the Bishop, "no man  
"of discretion can say, that that place is a place  
"of Puritans; and for my part, said he, I am  
"not satisfied to give way to proceedings against them." At which Sibthorp was much disconcerted, and said he was troubled to see that the church was no better regarded. This matter went no farther at this time, but the Bishop's whole conduct was more strictly examined afterwards in the star-chamber.

1628. This year a descent upon the Isle of

Rhee misgave, which lost the nation a large sum of money, and six thousand men, and raised great murmurings against Buckingham, which obliged the King to call another parliament, which

was

was appointed to assemble on the seventeenth of March. As soon as this resolution was taken in council, orders were dispatched to all parts of the kingdom to release the gentlemen who were in prison for refusing to pay the money for the loan, to the number of seventy-eight, the greatest part of whom were chosen members for the ensuing parliament. His Majesty, in the mean time, went on with raising money by excise; and instead of softening the errors of his government, assumed an air of high sovereignty, and told his parliament, That if they did not provide for the necessities of the state, he should use those means that God had put into his hands to save that which the follies of other men would hazard. "Take not that," says his Majesty, for a threatening, for I scorn to threaten my inferiors, "but as an admonition from him, who by nature and duty, has most care of your preservation and prosperity."

The parliament was not in the least awed by this strange language, but proceeded to grievances immediately; and though they voted five subsidies, they refused to carry the bill through the house till they had received the royal assent to their PETITION OF RIGHT, which contained the following claims, comprehended in Magna Charta. (1) That no free man shall be detained in prison by the King and privy council, without the cause of commitment be expressed, for which, by law, he ought to be detained. (2) That an habeas corpus ought not to be

F f f

denied,



denied where the law allows it. (3) That ~~no~~ tax, loan, or benevolence shall be imposed without act of parliament. (4) That no man shall be fore-judged of life or limb, or be exiled, or destroyed, but by judgment of his peers, according to the laws of the land, or by act of parliament. The King gave his assent to this bill in the most ample manner, but it will appear, in the sequel of this history, that he never meant to observe it; for in the twelve following years of his reign he paid no manner of regard to it.

The parliament next proceeded to pass sentence upon Manwaring, whose sermon has been mentioned already; they censured him most severely. His sentence was: That he should be imprisoned during pleasure, and be fined one thousand pounds; that he make his submission at the bar of the house, and be suspended from his ministry for three years; that he be disabled for ever from preaching at court, be incapable of any ecclesiastical preferment, and that his sermons be burnt in London, and at both the universities. According to this sentence, Manwaring appeared upon his knees at the bar of the house, on the twenty-third of June, and made a full acknowledgment and submission, craving pardon of God, the King, and parliament, and the whole commonwealth; but the houses were no sooner risen, than his fine was remitted, and himself preferred to the living of Stamford rivers, with a dispensation to hold St Giles's in the fields, then to the deanry of Worcester, and sometime after to the  
 bishop-

bishopric of St David's: Such was the regard that Charles paid to the opinion of his parliament. Montague and Sibthorp were soon after preferred; the first to the bishopric of Chester, and the latter to the deanry of Peterborough, and the rectorship of Burton, Latimer in Wiltshire. While the money bill was going through the house of lords, the commons were employed in drawing up a remonstrance of the grievances of the nation, with a petition for redress; but as soon as the King had obtained what money he wanted, he came and prorogued the parliament, first till the twenty-sixth of October, and then till the twenty-sixth of January. The commons being disappointed in presenting their remonstrance, published it to the nation; but the King called it in, and afterwards published an answer, which it is said was drawn by Bishop Laud, intended to take off the influence of the remonstrance. The King's answer denies the existence of all the grievances mentioned in the petition, and endeavours to represent the commons as factious and troublesome. The commons complained of the encrease of popery and arminianism, which the King accounted a reflection upon his wisdom, and the care which he pretended to have over the church and nation: but the Jesuits letter in England, to the Rector of the College at Brussels, will sufficiently set this matter in its proper light.\* From that letter it is manifest, that

F f f 2                      Puritan.

\* *A letter from a Jesuit in England to the Rector of the College at Brussels.*

Let not the damp of astonishment seize upon your ardent and zealous

Puritanism was the chief support of the constitution, and the best bulwark of the protestant religion against popery and arbitrary government. The King's answers were wholly sophistical and evasive, and were rather intended to throw a mist upon truth, than direct answers to the petitions of the commons. If these answers were composed

zealous soul, (says the Jesuit) in apprehending the unexpected calling of a parliament; we (the papists) have not opposed, but rather furthered it. You must know, the council is engaged to assist the King by way of prerogative, in case the parliament fail. You shall see this parliament will resemble the pelican, which takes pleasure to dig out with her beak her own bowels.

The elections have been in such confusion of apparent faction, as that which we were wont to procure with much art and industry, when the Spanish match was in treaty.

We have now many strings to our bow, and have strongly fortified our faction, and have added two bulwarks more; for when King James lived, he was very violent against Arminianism, and interrupted our strong designs in Holland. Now we have planted that sovereign drag Arminianism, which we hope will purge the protestants from their heresy, and it flourishes and bears fruit in due season. The materials that build up our bulwark, are the projectors and beggars of all ranks and qualities; however, both these factions co-operate to destroy the parliament, and to introduce a new species and form of government, which is oligarchy. These serve as mediums and instruments to our end, which is the universal catholic monarchy: our foundation must be mutation, and mutation will cause a relaxation.

We proceed now, by council and mature deliberation, how and when to work upon the Duke's (Buckingham's) jealousy and revenge; and in this we give the honour to those that merit it, which are the church catholics.

There is another matter of consequence, which we must take much into our consideration and tender care, which is, To flave off Puritans that they hang not in the Duke's ears; they are an impudent subtle people, and it is to be feared, lest they should negotiate a reconciliation between the Duke and the parliament at Oxford and Westminster; but now we assure ourselves, that we have so handled the matter, that both the Duke and parliament are irreconcilable.

For

sed and drawn up by Laud, as it is reported by historians, they shew him to have been a consummate dissembler and hypocrite; for who, that are possessed of the use of their understanding, will believe that either the King or Laud were ignorant of the encrease of Arminianism and Popery, which the King affirms in his answers.\*

It

For the better prevention of the Puritans, the Arminians have already locked up the Duke's ears, and we have those of our own religion that stand continually at the Duke's chamber to see who goes in and out. We cannot be too circumspect and careful in this regard. I cannot chagose but laugh to see how some of our sort have accounted themselves; and 'tis admirable how in speech and gesture they act the Puritans. The Cambridge scholars, to their woful experience, shall see we can act the Puritans a little better than they have done the Jesuits. They have abused our sacred patron in jest, but we will make them smart for it in earnest.

But to return to the main fabric, our foundation is Arminianism; the Arminians and projectors affect mutation; this we second and enforce by probable arguments. We shew how the King may free himself of his word, and raise a vast revenue without being beholden to his subjects, which is by way of excise. Then our church catholics shew the means how to settle the excise, which must be by a mercenary army of foreigners and Germans; their horse will eat up the country where they come, tho' they be well paid, much more if they be not paid. The army is to consist of twenty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; so that if the country rise upon settling the excise, as probably they will, the army will conquer them, and pay themselves out of the confiscation. Our design is to work the protestants as well as the catholics, to welcome in a conqueror. We hope to dissolve trade, to hinder the building of shipping, and to take away the merchant ships, that they may not easily light upon the West India fleet, &c.

\* *The Remonstrance of the Commons and the King's Answer.*

The Remonstrance was to this purpose,—That they thought it their duty to inform his Majesty of the apparent danger of ruin and destruction this church and commonwealth was in, and of the miserable condition of this kingdom, which of the most happy and flourishing, is like to be the most contemptible nation in the

It will appear to any impartial person, that the King's answers to the remonstrance of the commons is full of evasions, and is altogether equivocal

the world. They acknowledge his Majesty's goodness expressed by his clear and satisfactory answer to their petition of right. That one of the principal ends of calling parliaments is, that his Majesty may be truly informed of the state of the several parts of his kingdom, and how his officers and ministers behave themselves, which is scarce able to be made known to him but in parliament; as was declared by his blessed father, who told the commons, it would be the greatest breach of duty to his Majesty, and of the trust committed to them, if they did not deal clearly with him without sparing any, how near and dear soever to him, if they were hurtful or dangerous to the commonwealth. They first of all beseech his Majesty to take notice, that there is a general fear conceived in his people, of a secret working to introduce into his kingdom innovation and change of our religion. For notwithstanding the many good laws to prevent the increase of popery, and his Majesty's satisfactory answer to the petition of both Houses, presented to him at Oxford; they find no good effect thereof, but that those of that religion do find extraordinary favours and respect at court; in particular from the Countess of Buckingham, who openly professes that religion, which they hoped upon his Majesty's answer to the aforesaid petition at Oxford, should not have been permitted, nor any of his subjects justly suspected, should be entertained in his or the Queen's service; some of that religion have had honours, offices, and places of authority lately conferred upon them. Letters of stay of legal proceedings against them have been procured from his Majesty, and commissions granted and executed for compounding with popish recusants, with inhibitions to the ecclesiastical and temporal courts not to intermeddle with them, amounting to, no less than a toleration; their numbers, power, and insolence daily encreasing, especially about London, where they frequent masks at Denmark-house, and other places. That there is likewise a daily growth and spreading of the faction of Arminius who are protestants in shew, but Jesuits in opinion, which caused his royal father to endeavour the suppressing of them. And his Majesty had, by proclamation, declared his dislike of those persons, and their opinions, who, notwithstanding are much favoured and advanced, not wanting friends of the clergy near his Majesty, namely, Dr Neal, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who are justly suspected to be unsound

vocal and unsatisfactory. If Laud was the author of these answers, it is manifest, that he must have had a very mean opinion of the understanding

in their opinion that way. And it being now generally held the way to preferment, many scholars bend the course of their studies to maintain those errors, and their books are suffered to be published, while the orthodox are prohibited. Preaching is discountenanced, and painful preachers, how conformable soever, discouraged. And in Ireland the popish religion openly professed, popish jurisdiction exercised, and monasteries, nunneries, &c. newly erected, reedified, and replenished: And all these courses, tending to the distraction of true religion, have been taken here, when the same is, with open force and violence, prosecuted in other countries, and all the reformed churches in Christendom, either depressed or miserably distressed. The appeal to his Majesty, whether there be not just ground of fear, that there is some secret and strong co-operating here with the enemies of our religion abroad, for the utter extirpation thereof. They further declare to his Majesty, that his people is likewise full of fear of innovation and change of government, tho' much comforted by his Majesty's answer to their petition of right; and raised again out of the discontent they had conceived for the undue courses taken the last year for raising money by loans; than which never were any money paid with more general regret. That notwithstanding his Majesty's gracious answer to their petition of right, touching the billeting of soldiers; they are still continued and reinforced; and tho' many of them are not natives of this kingdom, and of an opposite religion to ours, they are placed upon the sea coast, where they may at the same time unite with the popish party at home, and join with an invading enemy. That the report of the dangerous design of bringing in German horse and riders, had turned their doubts into despair, had not his Majesty assured them they were not intended for any service in England: Yet the sight of the privy seal, the great sum of money paid thereupon; and the commissions granted to the lords and others of the privy council, to consider of raising money by impositions, gave them just cause to suspect, that there were those who might by this, or other means, contrive to change the frame both of religion and government. These men could not be ignorant, that the bringing in of strangers for aid, hath been pernicious to most states, but to England fatal; and they hold it beneath any Englishman to think, that this victorious nation should stand

ing of the nation, to suppose that they would be satisfied with such evasive answers. The encrease of Popery and Arminianism was too palpable to escape

stand in need of German soldiers to defend it. That when they consider the courses aforesaid, the often breach of parliament, the taking of tonnage and poundage without act of parliament, the standing commission granted to the Duke of Buckingham, to be general of an army here in time of peace, the discharging of faithful and sufficient persons from judicial places and other offices, they cannot but apply themselves to his Majesty for speedy help and reformation. They pray his Majesty to consider, whether the ill success that hath accompanied all his late designs and actions, particularly those of Calis, the Isle of Rhée, and the last expedition to Rochelle, hath not extremely wasted that stock of honour that was left unto this kingdom? That with the loss of our honour, we lost several valiant and expert commanders, and many thousand common soldiers and mariners, the' of six or seven thousand, lost at the Isle of Rhée, his Majesty received information but of a few hundreds. And this dishonour and loss hath been purchased with the consumption of above a million of treasure. That many of the forts are weak and decayed; and his Majesty's store of powder, which, by order of his privy council, December the tenth, sixteen hundred and twenty-six, should be constantly three hundred lasts, besides twenty lasts a month for ordinary expences, is now in the Tower but nine lasts and forty-eight pounds in all; and yet great quantities have been sold out of his Majesty's store for private gain; whereof six lasts sold since the fourteenth of January last. And tho' by contract with Mr Evelyn, his store ought to be supplied monthly with twenty lasts, at the rate of three pounds ten shillings and tenpence a barrel, his Majesty hath been forced to pay above seven pounds a barrel for powder brought from beyond seas; for which purpose, twelve thousand four hundred pounds was impressed to Mr Burlinck last year, and yet not so good as was to have been had by contract, by one third part. But what the poverty, weakness, and misery of the kingdom is grown into by decay of trade, and loss of ships and mariners within these three years, they are almost afraid to declare. But for his Majesty's more exact information therein, they beseech him to peruse the kalender of particulars presented to him with this remonstrance. One reason whereof is, the not guarding the narrow seas, the regality whereof

escape the notice of discerning persons; and it is as manifest, that Laud encouraged both. The parliament was perhaps too violent in their zeal  
 Vol. II. G g g for

whereof is in a manner lost, the Dunkirkers continually robbing and spoiling his Majesty's subjects. The principal cause of which evils they conceive to be the excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham, and the abuse of that power. And they submit it to his Majesty, whether it be safe for so great a power by sea and land to be in the hands of any one subject? Nor is it possible for any one man to manage so many and weighty affairs of the kingdom as he hath undertaken; some of which would require the time and industry of the ablest men of the kingdom. And they desire his Majesty to consider, Whether, the Duke having so abused that power, it be safe to continue him either in his great offices, or in his place of nearness and counsel about his person? And they beseech his Majesty graciously to accept of this true representation of their present danger, and pressing calamities, and to restore the safety and happiness of these kingdoms.—*Rusleworth's Col.*

*His Majesty's Answer.*

First he takes notice the Remonstrance begins with religion, and the fears of a relapse into popery: To scatter these jealousies, the King would have his subjects recollect what difficulties and dangers he met with, not many years since, on the score of religion: That his faith and resolution was still the same; and that he was no less careful to guard against innovation than those who seemed so much disturbed upon that head: That the favour and relaxation, granted to some recusants, was occasioned by the parliament's refusing to supply the necessities of the government. However, upon an exact enquiry into matter of fact, 'twill be found, there is no such increase of popery, nor any thing that looks like the pretended toleration: That the commission, so much complained of, neither dispences with any penalty, nor restrains the course of justice against recusants. Their next fear arises from the daily growth of the Arminian faction: This is called a cunning way to bring in popery. But this charge the King looks on as a very injurious reflection upon his person and government: That it is not fit his subjects should be led into a mistake by a parliamentary remonstrance, or by any other means; as if his Majesty is either so ignorant in matters of religious belief, or so indifferent in maintaining them, as that any singular opinion should grow up, or any faction prevail in his kingdoms, without his knowledge: That this was a fancy altogether without ground, and endeavoured to persuade the people the King slept over the government. That



for having the penal laws executed against the papists; but it cannot be denied that Laud's zeal against the Puritans was still more furious. The temper of the age was boisterous, and who-

ever

two eminent prelates, attending his person, were much wronged in being accused without the least colour of proof produced against them: And that, should either these Bishops, or any others, attempt the altering of religion, his Majesty would quickly animadvert upon them, without staying for the Commons' remonstrance. To give a colour to their complaint, the people are 'made to believe orthodox books have a restraint clapped upon them; but the King is very well assured, that 'since the late parliament began, some, whom the remonstrance call orthodox, had ventured upon intolerable liberty in printing: That his Majesty's proclamation commanded both sides to acquiesce and lie by till the passion of men had time to cool and grow calm: Had this order been duly obeyed, the nation had not been tost in the present tempest. As for the discountenancing good preachers, his Majesty knows none who can answer this character that lie under any such distress: That it shall be his Majesty's constant care to provide his people with sufficient guides for conscience and spiritual assistance. And as for the church preferments in the crown, he has always endeavoured to bestow them upon industry and desert: But then as the preferments are his Majesty's own, he shall make himself judge of the merit of persons, and not be taught by a remonstrance.

Then, with reference to Ireland, the King believes religion in no worse condition in that kingdom than Queen Elizabeth left it: That his Majesty looks on the report of monastries, and other superstitious houses, built and furnished in Dublin, and other towns of note, as a great disparagement to his government: That his deputy and council in that kingdom would not suffer such hardy innovations, so dishonourable to God and the government, without acquainting him with it: And that he could not endure his good people should be thus imposed on with misrelations. And whereas the remonstrance lays some stress on the circumstance of time, and sets forth, that the true religion is undermined at home, and openly attacked in foreign parts at the unhappy juncture. To this his Majesty replies, The reformation is safe enough from any attempts at home, if those who seem most concerned for its support are not in a practice against it: For while the interest of religion is thus factiously pursued, the heat of the contest oftentimes melts off the purity which 'tis intended to preserve; and that his Majesty is well assured these violent distempered motions are none of God's methods.

*Rusworth's Col.*

ever obtained power were too ready to use it to an extreme. Laud was but an ill politician, as well as a very suspicious christian; for if he meant to manage the nation by force and violence, he ought first to have considered the probability of the attempt. There were at this time many persons of eminence and abilities in the nation, whom he might have known to be of very different principles from his, and who were also bold and adventurous; those he ought either to have brought over to his party, or known how to have overcome, before he had risked his own character, and the safety of his master.

Laud was translated this year to the bishopric of London, and became the King's only favourite and chief counsellor; he obtained a declaration from Charles against all disputes on the Arminian controversy, which did little honour to its author; it was full of confusion and equivocal expressions, and did in fact contradict itself: it was intended to silence the Calvinists, and to prevent them from publishing any books against the court religion. They understood it in this light, and expressed their dissatisfaction in a petition to the King,\* wherein they complain of the restraint they were laid under by being prohibited from preaching the doctrines of God's free grace in election and predestination to eternal life, according to the seventh article of the church; and that they were now brought to this dilemma, either to wound their own consciences or fall under the King's displeasure. Charles took no notice of their

G g g 2

petition

\* Rushworth, Neal, Rapin.

petition, but to shew his impartiality, called for all books on the Arminian controversy, and among the rest, those of Montague and Manwaring; this was only a scheme of Laud's, to have a pretence to ruin the Puritans more effectually; for Montague and Manwaring received the royal pardon, and were preferred to the best livings in the kingdom, while those who answered their books were staged in the star-chamber and almost ruined. Charles endeavoured to disguise his conduct in the same manner with regard to the papists; for he issued a proclamation against all priests and Jesuits, and particularly against Calcedon; but when these recusants were apprehended in consequence of the royal proclamation, commissioners were appointed to compromise matters with them; and soon after, Sir Richard Weston, a notable catholic, was created Earl of Portland, and made High Treasurer of England.

When the parliament assembled on the twentieth of January, they proceeded to examine grievances, and held many warm debates upon the state of the nation, and the situation of religion. Oliver Cromwel, Mr Rouse, and Mr Pym, were among the chief speakers in this parliament, and several other Gentlemen assisted them in these debates. At last they came into a resolution to enter into a vow and protestation against Arminianism.\*

Bishop

\* *The protestation of the Commons.*

We the Commons, assembled in parliament, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the articles of religion which were established by parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which, by the public act of the church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of our church, have been delivered unto us; and we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others that differ from us

Bishop Laud answered this protestation, but with no shadow of argument; his answers are self-contradictory, for one while he is for holding by the literal and grammatical sense of the articles, and at other times altering every one of them to put his own sense upon them. Laud seems to have been of the same opinion with Mr Collier, who says, the articles have no established sense; but if this is really the case, imposing of them is a great absurdity. A new controversy arose this year, which was the occasion of the King's dissolving the parliament. The custom-house officers seized the goods of three eminent merchants, Mr Rolls, Mr Chambers, and Vassal, for not paying tonnage and poundage. Mr Chambers was fined two thousand pounds, besides loss of his goods, suffered six years imprisonment; the warehouses of Mr Rolls were locked up, and he himself taken out of the house of commons and imprisoned. This occasioned some warm speeches against the custom-house officers and farmers of the revenues; but the King took all upon himself, by declaring, that they acted according to his orders. This was an effectual way to screen his ministers from punishment; as the law had acknowledged that the King can do no wrong, so the parliament had no other alternative, but either to suffer their members to be plundered and imprisoned, or fall immediately upon the King himself. When the King found that they were determined to proceed, he ordered the speaker to adjourn the house till the sixteenth of March; but they detained him in the chair till they

they made the following protestation, (1) Who-soever shall by favour or countenance seem to introduce Popery or Arminianism, shall be reputed a capital enemy of the kingdom. (2) Whosoever shall advise levying the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, shall be reputed a capital enemy. (3) If any merchant shall voluntarily pay those duties, he shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of of England, and an enemy to the same.

The next day warrants were directed against Denzil Hollis, Sir John Elliot, William Coriton, Benjamin Valentine, John Seldon, and other four principal members of the house to appear before the council. Four of them appeared, Hollis, Elliot, Criton, and Valentine; but because they refused to answer out of parliament for what was said in the house, they were committed to the tower. The studies of all the rest were ordered to be sealed up, and a proclamation issued for apprehending them, though they were still members of parliament, the parliament being not yet dissolved. On the tenth of March the King dissolved the parliament, with a very angry speech, calling several members of the lower house vipers, and other opprobrious names. All that Charles could charge the commons with, was their holding the speaker in the chair after he had given notice that the King had adjourned them, which his Majesty had no power to do; for no King before James the first had pretended to that right, and when it was assumed, it was complained of as a breach

breach of privilege. If the King had a power to adjourn parliaments, there could be no business done except he pleased to permit them to proceed; for he might come in the middle of their debates and adjourn them whenever he pleased. The members already mentioned, were sentenced to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, and were accordingly kept under close confinement many years. Sir John Elliot died in prison a martyr for the liberties of his country, Mr. Holles was fined a thousand pounds, Sir John Elliot two thousand pounds, Valentine five hundred pounds and two thousand marks.

These proceedings of the King raised great murmuring among the people, and created much antipathy against Laud, who was supposed the author of all these disorders. Lampoons and threatening were posted up in different places, which expressed the sense the nation had of Laud's tyranny, and Charles's arbitrary government. His Majesty, to justify his proceedings, published a declaration of the causes of his dissolving the parliament. This gave little satisfaction, for the King had lost all credit with his parliament, and was but little regarded by the nation. When he promised to maintain the true religion, and to support the constitution, there were few who believed him sincere; so that his declarations in his own defence had little effect on the minds of his subjects. As soon as he was sensible that his last declaration did not settle the minds of the people, he published another to strike terror in their minds

minds; in this declaration he threatens all publishers of false reports, and such as should complain of the want of a parliament, or prescribe a time for his Majesty to assemble one; by this declaration there was an end of the English constitution for twelve years.

England was now an absolute monarchy, and the King's proclamations, and orders of council were the laws of the land; the ministers of state now sported themselves with the most wanton acts of arbitray power, and the religious laws and liberties of England lay prostrate, being swallowed up by popery and arbitrary domination.

Doctor Preston, a principal minister among the Puritans, died this year; he was born in Northamptonshire, in the parish of Bugbrook, and was educated in King's College, Cambridge, from whence he was afterwards removed to Queen's College, and admitted a Fellow of that house. He is said to have been very ambitious in his youth, but became afterwards a very humble preacher of the gospel. When the King came to Cambridge, Mr Preston was appointed to dispute before him; the question was, Whether brutes had reason, or could make syllogisms? Mr Preston held the affirmative, and gave for an instance a hound, which coming to a place where three ways meet, smells one way and the other, but not finding the scent, runs with full cry along the third, concluding that the hare, not being gone either of the two first, must necessarily be gone the third: This piece of subtilty, some historians affirm, would have gained him preferment,

pro-

provided he had not been a Puritan, but it would appear that the audience which admired this sophistry were not good judges; for the dog, so far from reasoning, followed his instinct, which told him, without any reasoning, that the hare was gone that way which he pursued, so there was no syllogism in the case. The dog would have readily explored ten ways instead of three, and never opened his mouth till his feeling had assured him, that the hare was gone that way which he pursued. Mr Preston is justly admired for what is of more value than sophistry; he was an honest, religious man, who studied to instruct and edify the church by sound and wholesome doctrine. The preferment which he could have expected from the court of Charles was uncertain and precarious; but the testimony of a good conscience was an enjoyment which would endure to his everlasting emolument. Mr Preston was much envied by the clergy of the church in those times, on account of his gifts and popularity, but maintained a good conscience, and died in peace in the forty-first year of his age. He was one of the most learned and respectable of the Puritan divines, and by the confession of his enemies, a man of good abilities.

The ancient government of the nation being now suspended by the royal will 1629. and pleasure, and no more hopes of a reformation entertained, the kingdom murmured, and nothing but discontent prevailed over the whole nation. Charles being now free from all restraints from a parliament,



parliament, began to think of raising money in his own way. Instead of the laws of the land, all public affairs were transacted according to the pleasure of the King and his council; public proclamations signified the will of the Monarch, which was to be obeyed upon the highest pains. Tonnage and poundage were collected without acts of parliament, and every impost which the court thought proper to impose was enforced by the mere force of proclamation: the number of monopolies was incredible, there was no branch of property which was not taxed. A million a year was raised by imposts on soap, salt, candle, wine, cards, pins, leather, and coals; even old rags did not escape being taxed, and grants were issued for weighing hay, for gauging red herring and butter casks; for marking iron, and sealing lace, with several other capricious imposts, which were never known in any free nation. His Majesty claimed a right in cases of necessity to raise money on every thing he pleased; and his pleasure was the sole rule of necessity. When the King wanted money, he obliged men to lend him upon a security which was as variable as his own fickle inclination; letters under the privy seal was all the security which was given; this might easily be reversed by the same will which gave the security: so it was the same thing as robbing men to make them lend money, when there was no law by which they could recover it, in case the debtor refused to pay. Oppression and arbitrary domination ruled now without

without control; and what aggravated the distress, no person durst utter his complaint without being punished for doing it. The smallest surmise was sufficient to cause any person to lose his liberty and estate, and to ruin him without redress.

The church was now ruled with as arbitrary a sway as the state, for Laud was in a great measure governor of both, whose influence was severely felt through the whole island. This aspiring clergyman attempted a scheme to unite the churches of Rome and England, without the smallest regard to the rights of conscience, or the laws of the land, and very seldom to the canons of the church, but carried all before him by force and violence. To bring about this pious design, he began to introduce into the churches the trappings of popery, pictures, images, altar-pieces, and other accoutrements of Babel; to these were added a number of pompous ceremonies in imitation of Rome. The Puritans, who did not approve of these shreds of popery, were turned out of the churches, and driven out of the nation. To accomplish this design, Laud presented his Majesty with certain considerations for settling the church, which were afterwards published with some small variation, under the title of Instructions to the two Archbishops, concerning certain orders to be observed, and put in execution by the several Bishops. In these his Majesty commands, that his declaration concerning the Predestinarian controversy be strictly observed by all lecturers, and preachers of afternoon sermons;

concerning which, he gave the following instructions: (1) That afternoon sermons be changed into catechizing. (2) That every lecturer perform divine service in his surplice and hood. (3) That in market towns, lectures be read by grave and orthodox divines, and that they preach in gowns, and not in cloaks. (4) That no lecturer be admitted who is not willing to take the care of souls. (5) That the Bishop take order, that the sermons of the lecturers be observed. (6) That none under noblemen, and men qualified by law, keep a private chaplain. (7) That care be taken that prayers and catechizing be frequented as well as sermons; of all which his Majesty requires an account once a year.

In consequence of these instructions, Laud summoned all the ministers and lecturers in and about London, and made a solemn speech to them, insisting upon their obedience; he likewise sent orders to his archdeacons, commanding them to see that these instructions be observed within their jurisdictions, and that they send lists of the several lecturers within their archdeaconry, as well in places exempt as not exempt, with the places where they preached, and their quality and degree; as also the names of such gentlemen, as being not qualified, keep chaplains in their houses.

The lecturers were in general Puritans, who were not disposed to take the care of souls, because they could not in conscience conform to the church; they were for the most part men of popular talents, and edifying gifts; they had the

the hearts of the people who were ready to listen to their doctrine, which created much chagrin in the breast of Laud. He would often say, they were the most dangerous enemies of the state, because, by their preaching and praying, they awakened the people's disaffection, and therefore must be suppressed. Archbishop Abbot was of a different opinion, and loved to encourage lectures, but he had lost all power, and could do little. In the diocese of London Laud proceeded with rigour, and put down many lecturers; all the lecturers, who preached against Arminianism, were suppressed, and such as did not comply with the new ceremonies. Messrs Rogers of Dedham, Rogers of Wethersfield, Hooker of Chelmsford, White of Knightsbridge, Archer, Martin, Edwards, Jones, Dod, Hildersham, Ward, Saunders, Gardiner, Foxley, and many others,

Several ministers, for unguarded expressions in their sermons, were called before the high commissioners, and suspended and imprisoned. Mr Bernard of St Sepulchers, and Mr Chauncy of Ware, were both called before the high commission, and treated severely. Mr Smart, a prebendary of Durham, and a minister of that city, was imprisoned by the high commission of York this summer, on account of a sermon he preached against images and pictures, and the late pompous ceremonies. He was confined for four months before any articles were exhibited against him, and detained five more before any proctor was allowed him. After he was sent backwards and forwards

wards between York and London, he was deprived of his prebendary, degraded, excommunicated, fined of five hundred pounds, and kept close prisoner, where he continued for eleven years, till he was set at liberty by the long parliament in one thousand six hundred and forty.

The severity of those times forced many well disposed ministers to forsake their native country, and seek habitations where they might live in quiet and enjoy liberty to worship the Almighty according to the dictates of their own mind. Many fled over to New England, and carried their families and effects along with them. Several persons, of quality and substance about London, engaged in a design to settle a colony in Massachusetts Bay, and for this purpose obtained a charter, bearing date March the fourth, one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, wherein the persons named, and all that should hereafter join with them, were made a body incorporate and politic, by the name of the governor and company of Massachusetts Bay, in New England. They were impowered to elect their governor, deputy governor, and magistrates, and make such laws as should be conducive for the good of the colony, provided they were not inconsistent with the laws of England. Free liberty of conscience was granted to all who should settle in those parts, to worship God in their own way. These new planters being all Puritans, made application to Mr Higgins, a silenced minister in Leicestershire, and Mr Skelton, another silenced minister in Lincolnshire,

*Charter of Massachusetts Bay Anno 1629*

colnshire, to be their chaplains, and desired them to engage as many of their friends as were willing to embark with them. They equipped a fleet of six sail of transports, from four to twenty guns, in which they carried about three hundred and fifty passengers, men, women, and children. They also carried with them one hundred and fifteen head of cattle, as horses, mares and cows, and forty-one goats, six pieces of canon, and a large quantity of ammunition and provision. The fleet sailed on the eleventh of May, and arrived on the twenty-fourth of June, at a place called by the natives Neukeak, but by these new settlers, Salem, which signifies *peace*.

As it was on account of religion that they left England, they proceeded first to establish that form of worship they thought most agreeable to scripture and their own consciences. On the sixth of August they appointed a day for fasting, and formed themselves into a religious society; they also received thirty persons into their communion, before the whole congregation, upon their professing to adhere to a confession of faith, which they had all agreed to, and made them sign a covenant, the tenor of which was:

“ We covenant with our Lord and one another.  
 “ We bind ourselves, in the presence of God,  
 “ to walk together in his ways, according as he  
 “ is pleased to reveal himself to us in his blessed  
 “ word of truth, and do profess to walk as fol-  
 “ lows, through the power and grace of our Lord  
 “ Jesus Christ. We avouch the Lord to be our  
 “ God,

" God, and ourselves to be his people in the truth  
 " and simplicity of our spirits. We give ourselves  
 " to the Lord Jesus; and to the word of his  
 " grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying  
 " us, in matters of worship and conversation, re-  
 " solving to reject all canons and constitution of  
 " men's worship. We promise to walk with our  
 " brethren, with all watchfulness and tenderness,  
 " avoiding jealousies, suspicions, backbitings, cen-  
 " surings, provokings, secret risings of spirit a-  
 " gainst them; but in all offences, to follow the  
 " rules of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and  
 " forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us.  
 " In public and private we will do nothing to the  
 " offence of the church, but will be willing to  
 " take advice for ourselves and others, as occasion  
 " shall be presented. We will not in the congre-  
 " gation be forward, either to shew our own gifts  
 " and parts of speaking, or scrupling, or disco-  
 " vering the weakness or failings of our brethren,  
 " but attend an ordinary call thereto, knowing  
 " how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and  
 " his gospel slighted, by our distempers and weak-  
 " nesses in public. We bind ourselves to study the  
 " advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace;  
 " but in regard of those who are within and  
 " without, no way slighting our sister churches,  
 " but using their council as need shall be; not  
 " laying a stumbling block before any, no not  
 " the Indians, whose good we desire to pro-  
 " mote, and so to converse, as we may avoid the  
 " very appearance of evil. We hereby promise  
 to

"to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those  
 "that are over us in church or commonwealth,  
 "knowing how well pleasing it will be to the  
 "Lord, that they should have encouragement,  
 "in their places by our not grieving their  
 "spirits by our irregularities. We resolve to  
 "approve ourselves to the Lord in our particu-  
 "lar callings, shunning idleness as the bane of  
 "any state; nor will we deal hardly and oppres-  
 "sively with any wherein we are the Lord's  
 "stewards. Promising also, to the best of our a-  
 "bilities, to teach our children and servants the  
 "knowledge of God, and of his will, that they  
 "may serve him also. And all this not by any  
 "strength of our own, but by the Lord Jesus  
 "Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this  
 "our covenant made in his name."

After this they chose Mr Skelton their Pastor,  
 Mr Higginson their teacher, and Mr Houghton  
 their ruling elder, who were set apart to their  
 several offices, by the imposition of the hands of  
 some of the brethren appointed by the church to  
 that work. This new colony met with great  
 hardships at first, many of them died; Mr Hough-  
 ton and Mr Higginson were carried off the first  
 winter, with near a hundred more; but next  
 summer they were recruited, by a fresh supply  
 from England, of two hundred ministers and gen-  
 tlemen, which the violence of Laud forced to  
 leave their native country. During the twelve  
 years of Laud's tyranny, near four thousand plan-  
 ters went over from Britain, who laid the founda-



...dation of several small towns and villages up and down the country, and carried over with them in materials, money, and cattle, to the value of one hundred and ninety-two thousand pounds, besides the merchandize which was sent over with them to traffic with the Indians. It was computed upon the whole that the settlements in New England, at Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven, all which were accomplished before the beginning of the civil wars, drained England of four or five thousand pounds in money; and it was reckoned, that if the persecution of the Puritans had continued twelve years longer, a fourth part of the wealth of the kingdom would have been carried to New England. There were upwards of seventy ministers, all persons of learning and character, who had settled in America before the year one thousand six hundred and forty, and became pastors of churches in these colonies.

1630. The affairs of church and state in England grew worse and worse; Laud ruled the nation with a rod of iron, and none escaped his tyranny who were not absolute dupes to his capricious humour. This year Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury was brought to trouble for a sermon he preached before the King, from Rom. vi. 23. *The gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord* This was considered as an affront to the King, for the very text was construed as an insult, being contrary to the King's injunctions lately published by proclamation. The Bishop

Bishop' was obliged to acknowledge his offence, and soon after to retire from court; for sins of this sort were unpardonable with the King and Bishop Laud. Several other ministers were at this time called before the high commission, and deprived for preaching upon predestination, such as Mr Madye, Dr Burges, Mr White, Dr Prideaux, Mr Hobbs, and Mr Cook, who had no mercy shewed them by the commissioners.

But Doctor Leighton, a Scots divine, father of the famous Bishop of that name, met with the hardest fate. He had published, during the sitting of the last parliament, *An Appeal to Parliament; or, Zion's Plea against Prelacy*; in which he had used several freedoms with the Queen and the Bishops, which were accounted rude and indecent: He called the Bishops men of blood, and the Queen a daughter of Heth; but spoke respectfully of the King, and said, he was abused by the Bishops. Though all he said was true, many moderate people have blamed him for his rudeness and indecency of stile, and the severe sarcasms he threw out against the Bishops; but this much may be said in his vindication, the Bishops at this time were generally mere tyrants, void of all true religion and humanity, who, to maintain their power, honour, and jurisdiction, persecuted the innocent, and ruined many honest families, merely because they could not sacrifice their consciences to their pleasure; they might very justly be called men of blood. The Queen was a bigotted papist, and a daughter of France, which

which Leighton refers to by calling her a daughter of Heth, whom he thought it was as inconsistent for the King, being a protestant, to marry, as it would have been for Jacob to marry a daughter of Heth, who was a heathen. Leighton appears to have been a man who was not disposed to flatter great men, but told the truth at all hazards; he did not sacrifice truth to delicacy, as is too common with the greatest part of mankind, but spoke his mind without considering consequences. But supposing that Leighton was a little indelicate in his manner of writing, it is still as manifest that his enemies were more indelicate in their manner of punishing him. The decree of the star-chamber concerning doctor Leighton will stand as a monument, to all future ages, of the wickedness of Laud, and the tyranny of that arbitrary court. It would make the greatest savage shudder to read it, and yet Bishop Laud pulled off his hat and thanked God when it was passed. The whole fund of language is not sufficient to express the wickedness of such a wretch, as could thank his maker for a sentence which heathens would blush to read, and tremble to execute. That sentence for which Bishop Laud thanked God, was, "That doctor Leighton should be committed to prison for life, and pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; that the high commission should degrade him from his ministry; that he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the court was sitting, and be whipt; after whipping to  
" be

"be set on the pillory, a convenient time, and  
 "have one of his ears cut off, one side of his  
 "nose slit, and be branded on the face with a  
 "double S S for a sower of sedition; that then  
 "he should be carried back to prison, and after  
 "a few days be pilloried again a second time in  
 "Cheapside, and be there likewise whipped, and  
 "have the other side of his nose slit, and his  
 "other ear cut off, and then be shut up in prison  
 "for the remainder of his life."

Leighton made his escape out of prison, but was retaken in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the fleet, and suffered part of his sentence on Friday the sixth of November. Laud was so fond of this barbarous sentence, that he has set it down in his diary. These are the Bishop's own words,—"(1) He was severely whipped before he  
 "was set on the pillory. (2) Being set on the  
 "pillory, he had one of his ears cut off. (3)  
 "One side of his nose slit. (4) Branded on the  
 "cheek with a red hot iron, with the letters  
 "S S. On that day se'nnight, his sores upon  
 "his back, ear, nose, and face, being not yet  
 "cured, he was whipped again at the pillory, in  
 "Cheapside, and had the remainder of his sen-  
 "tence executed upon him, by cutting off his  
 "other ear, slitting the other side of his nose,  
 "and branding the other cheek." He was then  
 carried back to prison, where he continued in  
 close confinement for ten years, till he was re-  
 leased by the long parliament. The doctor was  
 between forty and fifty years of age when he  
 suf-

*Consecration of St. Catherine Creed's Church, by Bishop Laud.*

( 446 )

suffered this severe sentence. He was a man of low stature, fair complexion, a person of great abilities, and a fine scholar. His long confinement hurt his health, and ruined his constitution, so that when he was released, he could hardly walk, see, or hear. This great man's suffering moved the compassion of many, and it must be allowed that his case was truly pitiable.

As Bishop Laud was exceeding skilful at contriving a tragedy, he was likewise very expert at acting in a comedy, and performing a farce. He had this year an opportunity of displaying his talents to the utmost on the comic theatre: St Catherine Creed's church, in the Strand, being lately repaired, was suspended from divine service till it was consecrated. Laud set apart one sabbath morning to make it holy; the 16th of January was the day when this comedy was acted. The Bishop came, with several of the high commissioners, at nine o'clock in the morning; when he approached the west door of the church, which was guarded by armed men; some persons who were appointed to act a part in this farce, cried, with a loud voice, Open, open ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may come in: and presently the doors being opened, Laud, with some doctors and principal men, entered. As soon as they were come within the church, his lordship fell down on his knees, and with his eyes lifted up, and his arms spread abroad, said, This, this place is holy: this ground is holy, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy

Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy. Then walking forward, towards the chancel, he took up some of the dust, and threw it several times in the air; when he approached near the rail of the communion table, he bowed towards it five or six times, and returning, went round the church, with his attendants, in procession, saying, first the hundred, and then the nineteenth psalm, as prescribed in the Roman pontificale. He then read several collects, in one of which he prays the Almighty to accept of that beautiful building, and concludes, Thus we consecrate this church, and separate it to thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common use. He prays further, "That all that shall hereafter be buried within the circuit of this holy and sacred place may rest in their sepulchres in peace, till Christ's coming to judgment, and may then rise to eternal life and happiness." After this, the Bishop, being near the communion table, took a written book in his hand, and pronounced curses upon those who should hereafter profane that holy place, by musters of soldiers, or keeping profane courts; and at the end of every curse, he bowed with his face towards the east, and said, *Let all the people say, amen.* When Laud had ended his curses, which were about twenty, he pronounced a like number of blessings, upon all that had any hand in framing or building of that sacred and beautiful church, and on those that had given, or should hereafter give any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils; and at the end of every blessing

blessing he bowed towards the east, and said, *Let all the people say, amen.* After all this ridiculous nonsense, a sermon succeeded, and then the sacrament, which the Bishop consecrated and administered in as ludicrous a manner as he had consecrated the church. Laud appears to have been disposed to give his Maker fan for worship upon this sabbath, for every piece of pageantry seem to have out-done another on this farcical occasion. When he approached the altar, he made five or six bows, and coming up to the side of it, where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed seven times; then, after reading many prayers, he came near the bread, and after gently lifting up the cloth, beheld it, and immediately let fall the napkin, and retreated a step or two, and made three low obeisances. His Lordship then advanced, and having uncovered the bread, bowed three times, as before; then he laid his hands on the cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it, which having let go, he stepped back, and bowed three times towards it; then he came near again, and lifting up the cover of the cup, looked into it, and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover again, retired back, and bowed as before; then the elements were consecrated, and the Bishop, having first received, gave it to some principal men, in their surplices, hoods, and tip-pets; after which, many prayers being said, the ceremony of consecrating was ended. In the same manner he consecrated St Giles's church next day, though divine service had been performed

formed in it for three or four years. Several other churches and chapels, which had been built long before, and had been considered as lawful places of worship, were, by Laud's order, shut up till they were consecrated: such was Laud's humour for consecrating houses. Consecrating churches was a new thing to the people in England; and, from the reformation, accounted a needless, superstitious practice. It appears to have proceeded from the vain superstitious fumes of disorderly imaginations, or to have been intended by politicians to cause the ignorant populace pay reverence to the clergy, who had such quantities of holiness to communicate, as could pierce the very walls of houses, and enter so many foot deep into the earth. There is no warrant from revelation for this comical practice under the New Testament; and of old times, under the law, consecration of houses belonged not to the priests, but to the King. This strange form of sanctifying houses upon the Laudean plan, has more the appearance of witchcraft, than religion; for one might venture to pronounce, that any person who is far gone in the belief of witchcraft, and who had never seen the ceremony of a church's sanctification, would immediately conclude, that the Bishop was going to raise the devil. It will appear strange to all persons who have got the better of the shackles of superstition, that men of learning and common sense, should take pleasure in sopperies, which have no other tendency



dency than to debase the human understanding, and render religion ridiculous.

1631. The nation was now plagued with repairing the shells of churches, while the substantial part was neglected; every denomination of people were obliged to give money to pay for creating the apostles, and making the Virgin Mary. Paintings, carvings, altars, crucifixes, candlesticks, images, and vestments were now to be provided for these holy places which Laud had sanctified, and the whole form of imagery, which adorned St Peter's, at Rome, was now preparing for St Paul's, at London. Laud was fond of imagery, and as soon as he was translated to Lambeth, he caused the painting in the windows of the chapel to be repaired. In one pane of a window there had been the picture of Christ crucified, with a scull, and dead men's bones under it; a basket full of tools, and nails, with the high priest, and his officers on horseback, and the two thieves on foot. In the next were the two thieves on crosses; Abraham offering up his son Isaac, and the brazen serpent upon a pole. In other panes were pictures of Christ rising out of the grave, and ascending into heaven, with his disciples kneeling around him; the descent of the Holy Ghost on the apostles, in the shape of cloven tongues; God's giving the law upon mount Sinai; his coming down from heaven at the prayer of Elisha; Christ, and his twelve apostles, sitting in judgment on the world. In other parts were painted the Virgin Mary, with  
the

the babe Christ sucking at her breast; the wise men from the east, coming to adore him; the history of the annunciation, with the picture of the Virgin Mary, and of the Holy Ghost overshadowing her, together with the birth of our Saviour; all these were repaired, and restored according to the Roman missale, and beautified by the Bishop's order, and at his expence. The like was done in all other principal churches and chapels, such as Whitehall, and Westminster, both the Universities: this was charged against Laud at his trial.

Bishop Laud had been chosen chancellor of the university of Oxford the year before, where the Puritans soon gave him uneasiness. Many of the masters were charged with preaching against Arminianism, and the new ceremonies; among these were Messrs Hill, Ford, Giles, Hodges, and others. Mr Hill made a public recantation, and was released; but the rest were not so soon cleared. These divines were convened before the vice chancellor, Dr Smith, as offenders against the King's injunctions, but appealed to the proctors, who received their appeal. Upon this, the chancellor complained to the King, and procured the cause to be heard before his Majesty at Woodstock, where Ford and Hodges were sentenced to be expelled the university, and both the proctors deprived for receiving their appeal. The rest received a sharp rebuke, and admonition; some of them recanted and read their recantation, but Mr Ford retired to his friends in Devonshire, where he was called to be lecturer at Plymouth, but could not

admitted, on account of an express order from the court to reject him. What was a great hardship upon the Puritan ministers, they were not allowed to vindicate their own character; for when their crimes were said to be enormous, they were not permitted to know what was alledged against them, but their characters were left to the mercy of common fame, and the surmises of ill-natured people, who were ready to receive the report of the high commissioners, as a sufficient ground for publishing the most malicious stories.

This year sundry eminent divines removed to New England, and, among others, the famous Mr Elliot; who, by his own industry, acquired the Indian language, and translated the bible into it, by which means he was an instrument of converting a great many heathens to christianity, and did great service to religion in those parts. About this time died two eminent Puritan ministers, Messrs Arthur Hildersham and Robert Bolton; the first educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, and the latter in Brazen-nose College, Oxford: Hildersham was famous for his steady attachment to his principles in the midst of much trouble and persecution; and Bolton for his learning, and awakening manner of preaching. The Puritans lamented the loss of these two notable men, and all who knew their worth were sorry at their death.

1632. Bishop Laud, who grew more wicked as he grew old, went on in his career of tyranny and oppression. The more effectually

to ruin the Puritans, and inforce conformity to the church, he this year was guilty of a most atrocious robbery. A number of gentlemen, who were friends to religion, and loved to promote the gospel, had purchased several impropriations, which were in the hands of the laity; the profits of which were parcelled out into small salaries of forty or fifty pounds a year, for the subsistence of lectures. The money was lodged in the hands of several gentlemen and ministers in trust, for the above purpose, under the name and designation of Feoffees. There were at this time three thousand eight hundred and forty-five parish churches, appropriated to colleges or cathedrals, or impropriated as lay fees to private persons, having formerly belonged to abbeys.

The gentlemen above-mentioned, dealt only in the latter, and already bought in thirteen impropriations, which cost them above five thousand pounds. Most people thought this a very commendable design, and wished well to the undertaking; but Bishop Laud viewed the matter in a different light, and represented them to the King as a conspiracy against the church, because they did not restore the impropriations which they had purchased to the several livings, but kept them in their own hands, for the encouragement of factious and seditious lecturers, who were dependent on their patrons, and liable to be turned out if they neglected their duty. He added, that the feoffees preferred chiefly non-conformist ministers, and placed them in the most popular

popular market towns, where they did a great deal of mischief to the hierarchy of the church. For these reasons an information was brought against them, in the exchequer, by the attorney-general, as an unlawful society, formed into a body corporate without a grant from the King, for purchasing rectories, tithes, prebendaries, &c. which were registered in a book, and the profits not employed as by law they ought. Mr Attorney seems to have forgot that there was now no law; the will of the sovereign was all the law which now existed, and he might as well have said, that it was contrary to the mind of the King and Laud, for any person to do what they were not pleased with. The defendants offered their defences, but they might as well have saved themselves the trouble, for the court cancelled their seoffment, and confiscated their purchase to the King, and the purchasers were fined in the star-chamber: but the prosecution was dropt as too invidious, for it appeared in court, by the receipts and disbursements, that the seoffees were out of pocket above one thousand pounds. This invidious prosecution brought great odium upon Laud, whose chancellor told him on this occasion, that he was miserably censured by the Separatists; upon which he made this reflection in his diary, Pray God give me patience, and forgive them. His Lordship had more reason to have asked forgiveness for himself, for it is manifest that he was the offender, and the author of this unjust persecution; but Laud had long before

before shaken hands with his maker, and was determined to proceed in his own course, contrary to his express laws and commandments. There is nothing more expressly contrary to the spirit of christianity than cruelty and persecution, and whoever breathes a persecuting disposition, declares that they do not understand the spirit of the gospel.

Bishop Laud notwithstanding all the just reflections thrown forth against him, pursued his plan of policy, on which he ingrafted a system of barbarity unknown to former ages. Britain had formerly experienced the cruelty of papists, and the protestants had severely felt the tyranny of Rome; but it had never been known in any preceding age, that people agreed in the material points of religion, persecuted one another for conscience sake. Men were now fined and imprisoned for preaching against popery, as if it had been a sin to dissent from the church of Rome; the persecutors now acted the part of robbers and thieves, who, as soon as they had men in their power, spunged them of their money and goods as if it had been no sin to steal. Mr Hayden was stript by the Bishop of Norwich of his horse, money, and papers, and shut up in prison for thirteen weeks. After Hayden was at liberty, he ventured to preach occasionally, without being restored; for which he was sent to the gate-house by Laud, from thence to bridewel, where he was whipt and kept to hard labour: here he was confined in a cold dark dungeon for a whole winter, being chained to a post in the middle

middle of a room, with irons on his hands and feet, having no other food except bread and water, and some straw to lie on. This was severity which in those times was not exercised upon felons, and shews what was the temper of the Bishops in those days.

✓ Henry Sherfield, Esq; a Barrister at law of Lincoln's Inn, and Recorder of the city of Sarum, was tried at the star-chamber for an offence which Laud could not forgive. Sherfield had made free with some painted glafs in one of the windows of St. Edmonds church in Salisbury, for which he suffered severely. There was painted in this window which the Recorder removed, seven pictures of God the Father, in form of a little old man in a blue and red coat with a pouch by his side; one representing him creating the sun and moon, with a pair of compasses, others as working on the business of the six days creation, and at last sitting in an elbow-chair at rest. Many weak people when they past did reverence to the window, because, they said, the Lord their God was there. This made the Recorder to move the vestry to take down the window and set up a new one in its place, which was granted in presence of six justices of the peace. Some time after Mr Sherfield broke the pictures of God the Father with his staff, an account of which was carried to London, and an information exhibited against him in the star-chamber, because he had done this without consent of the Bishops, and in contempt of episcopal authority.

thority. This superstitious pane was magnified as a fair and ancient history of the creation, which had stood for some hundred years, and was a great ornament to the church, and it was alledged, that this prophane act might encourage other schismatical persons to commit the like outrages. Mr Sherfield in his defence, affirms, that the church of St Edmund's was a lay fee, and exempted from the jurisdiction of the Bishops; that he with the rest of the parishioners had lawful power to take down the glass; and that it was agreed by the vestry that the glass should be changed, and the window made new, and accordingly he took a quarry or two in a quiet and peaceable manner: but he avers, that the true history of the creation was not contained in that window, but a false and impious one; God the father was painted like an old man with a blue coat and a pair of compasses, to signify his compassing the heavens and the earth. In the fourth days work, there were souls of the air flying up from God their maker, which should have been the fifth day. In the fifth day's work, a naked man is lying upon the earth asleep, with so much of a naked woman, as from the knees upward, growing out of his side, which should have been the sixth day: so that the history is false. Sherfield also proves from scripture, that images of God the Father are unlawful, and from the laws of the land, that they were prohibited in England. Laud could hardly make any reply to this defence, yet he endeavoured to excuse the painter,



by saying, that God the Father was called in scripture the ancient of days ; but added, that for his own part, he did not approve of pictures of invisible things ; but he insisted that Mr Sherfield had taken them down in contempt of episcopal authority, for which he moved, that he should be fined a thousand pounds, and removed from his recordership of the city of Sarum ; that he be committed close prisoner to the fleet till he pay his fine. To all which the court agreed except the fine, which they reduced to five hundred pounds, which was certainly too much for the offence.

Mr Workman, Lecturer of St Stephen's church, was also called to an account for preaching against images and pictures in churches, and deprived of his livelyhood ; he was neither permitted to teach school, nor to practice physic, or discharge any office by which he could make bread for his family, which threw him into a state of melancholy, that put an end to his days. Bishop Laud had now secured both the pulpit and the press ; he commanded his chaplains to expunge out of all books, that came to be licensed, such passages as found fault with paintings, carvings, drawings, gildings, erecting, bowing, or praying before images and pictures. This was proved against him at his trial by the evidence of Dr Fearly.

This tyrannical Bishop was not satisfied to exercise his power over the subjects of Great Britain at home, but wanted to extend his jurisdiction o-  
ver

ver the English factories beyond sea. The English church at Hamburg, and those in Holland, managed their affairs according to the form of the Geneva discipline. This was a grievance to Laud, who wanted to be universal dictator to all the churches. He sent his orders to those factories to conform to the English Discipline, and wrote particularly to Delft, that it was his Majesty's pleasure, their ministers should in all things conform to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and to all the orders prescribed in the canons, rubric, and liturgy; and that the names of such as were refractory, should be sent over to him. But he was not able to succeed in this attempt, for these societies were under the protection of the States, and beyond Laud's jurisdiction.

Dr Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, died this year, and was succeeded by Laud 1633. Bishop of London. Abbot was a man of a peaceable disposition, and averse to all persecution; he loved religion in his heart and was forward to promote it by all means in his power, but was not in favour at court, and could not therefore execute his purposes. He was a man of considerable learning and parts, and pious in his whole deportment; he pursued the true interests of his country, and opposed the measures of the court, for which reason he was disgraced, and turned out of favour, and has been, by the court historians, accounted a person of morose principles.\*

\* Clarendon.

He was a Calvinist in his principles, which was sufficient to render him unacceptable to the King and the court divines; his memory will, however, be dear to all who love the civil and religious liberties of their country. Had Charles pursued his counsels, he might have prevented the many evils that afterwards happened to his own family, and the whole kingdom.

Laud being now preferred to Canterbury, he was at the height of his glory; for he was now metropolitan of all England, Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, Privy Counsellor for England and Scotland, First Commissioner of the Exchequer, and one of the committee for trade and of the King's revenues: He was also offered a Cardinal's cap, but refused it, because he said there was something in him which would not suffer it, till Rome was otherwise than it then was. But though there was something in him which hindered him from accepting a Cardinal's hat, yet his conscience was not so nice with regard to profaning the sabbath day: his antipathy to Calvinism made him encourage immorality; for, because the Puritans were strict in keeping the sabbath, to shew his opposition to them, he encouraged all sort of profane and idle diversions on that day. Complaints being made to the judges of assize, when they went the western circuit, of the great inconveniences which arose from revels, church ales, and clerk ales on the Lord's day, Justice Richardson, and Baron Denham, the two judges in that

that circuit, made an order for suppressing them, and appointed the clerks to leave copies of the order with every parish minister, who was to give a note under his hand to publish it yearly on the first Sunday of February, and the two Sundays before Easter. Upon return of the circuit, the judges required an account of the execution of their order, and punished some persons for breach thereof: upon which, the Archbishop complained to the King, that the judges had invaded the episcopal jurisdiction, and they were called before the council. Richardson pleaded that what they had done was according to act of parliament, and at the request of the Justices of the peace. Laws and acts of parliament were nothing to Charles and Laud, for they were now determined to rule the nation according to their own will and pleasure, in spite of all laws. The chief justice was severely reprimanded, and ordered to revoke his order next assizes; which he did in such a manner, as lost him all credit at court in time coming. This reprimand and injunction almost broke the judge's heart; for when he came out of the council chamber he told the Earl of Dorset, with tears, that he had been miserably shaken by the Archbishop, and was like to have been choaked with lawn sleeves.

Laud now triumphed over the judges, and went on vigorously in profaning the sabbath; he wrote letters to the bishops to encourage wakes and revels, because they were necessary for a recreation to the people on Sundays, for keeping up

up the memory of the dedication of churches; that church ales were necessary to make the people merry after their sports in the church-yard; and that by the benevolence of the people on those occasions, many poor people were enabled to cast their bells and beautify their churches, and raise a stock for the poor: that clerk ales were useful for better maintaining the *parish* clerk, where the salaries are small; that *bid ales* are necessary for relieving poor decayed families, for this purpose their friends assemble at a Sunday's feast, and make a liberal contribution for their necessity. These were reasons worthy of Laud, who never stuck at any thing that might serve his own purposes and distress the non-conformists. For what can be more absurd than to teach people to observe charity and benevolence, at the expence of a positive commandment of the moral law? If the Archbishop meant to express his benevolence to the poor and needy, he might have found other methods than those of profaning the sabbath day. The reduction of large church livings, and the sequestration of dean and chapter lands, would have answered the purpose far better; but this manner of proceeding was not so agreeable to the bishops as that of making poor people squander away their money in profaning that day, which, by the fourth commandment, all christians are obliged to keep holy.

The Justices of the peace were of a different opinion from the Archbishop, for they signed

a humble petition to the King, wherein they declare, that these revels had not only introduced a great profanation of the *Lord's day*, but riotous tippling, contempt of authority, quarrels, and murders, and were very prejudicial to the peace, plenty, and good government of the country, and therefore pray, that they may be suppressed. It is observable, that the first beginnings of all re-formations have had their principal rise among the laity, and that the clergy in general have been the last to join therein; and here we have the laity petitioning for the religious observation of the sabbath, when the metropolitan of all England, and his clergy, were pleading for the profanation thereof.

The Archbishop, more effectually to support the profanation of the sabbath, prevailed with his Majesty to publish his father's declaration concerning lawful sports, to be used on the Sundays, after divine service, which was accordingly done on October the eighteenth, with some very remarkable additions. Charles says, " Out of a like  
 " pious care for the service of God, and for  
 " suppressing of those humours that oppose truth,  
 " and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of  
 " his Majesty's well-deserving people, he doth ratify his blessed father's declaration, the rather,  
 " because of late, in some counties of this kingdom, his Majesty finds, that under pretence of  
 " taking away abuse, there have been a general  
 " forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but  
 " of the feasts of the dedications of churches,  
 " com-

"commonly called wakes: It is therefore his Ma-  
 "jesty's express will and pleasure, that these feasts  
 "with others, shall be observed; and that all neigh-  
 "bourhood and freedom, with manlike and law-  
 "ful exercises, be used; and the Justices of the  
 "peace are commanded, not to molest any in  
 "their recreations, having first done their duty  
 "to God, and continuing in obedience to his  
 "Majesty's laws. And he does farther will, that  
 "publication of this, his command, be made, by  
 "order from the Bishops, through all the parish  
 "churches of their severall dioceses respectively."

The publishing of this declaration revived the  
 controversy concerning the morality of the sab-  
 bath, which remained dormant for many years.  
 One Mr Bradburne, wrote a book in defence of  
 the morality of the sabbath day, which the Bishop  
 of Ely was ordered by Laud to confute, and  
 after him Heylin, the Archbishop's chaplain.  
 These divines made the sabbath a mere political  
 contrivance, liable to be changed by ecclesiastical  
 authority, and to be binding no further than a  
 few hours of public service; and that in the in-  
 tervals, not only walking, but mixed dancing,  
 • masques, interludes, revels, &c. were lawful and  
 expedient. The sober part of the nation were  
 shocked at these immoralities, and much grieved  
 to see themselves invited by the authority of the  
 King and church, to do that which looked so  
 like a breach of an express commandment of  
 God. It appeared to them to be much out of  
 character, for Bishops and clergymen, who should  
 be

be supporters of religion to draw men off from the practice of it in their families and closets, by enticing them to public diversions. People are fond enough, of their own accord, to run into extremes of this sort, without any excitement to provoke them to the practice thereof; there is more need of some restraints in this particular, than encouragement and provocation; but the wisdom of these times thought otherwise. The court had their balls, masquerades, and plays, on the Sunday evenings; while the youth in the country were at their revels, morrice dances, may-games, church and clerk ales, and all kinds of recreations. The writers who have extolled the piety of Laud and King Charles the First, have certainly had an uncommon share of effrontery, who could attribute piety to men, who not only were guilty of profaning the Lord's day themselves, but punished such as would not conform to their methods of sinning. Their pretended piety could be no more than a masque of hypocrisy, to varnish over a multitude of sins. Laud's intention was principally to purge the church of the Puritans, whom he hated mortally; they were ordered to read the King's declaration on the Sunday, which was in effect to tell their hearers, that it was lawful to profane the sabbath; which no honest minister could do with a good conscience.

The Archbishop pressed this declaration with so much rigour, that great numbers of the Puritan divines were obliged to throw up their liv-

Vol. II.

M m m

ings,



ings, and flee to other parts of the world . some went over to Holland, and settled there; others went to America, and never returned. Some, who had less resolution than the rest, read the declaration, which afterwards gave them much uneasiness of mind; but all who did not conform in this particular, were suspended *ab officio & beneficio*, though there was no authority from the King's declaration for such severity. Laud and the high commission suspended or deprived Messrs Player, Hieron, Calmer, Wilson, Wrath, Ebrey, Jones, Whitfield, Garth,\* Ward, Farrol, Peggs, Snelling, all for refusing to read the declaration. Some of these divines were likewise excommunicated on the same account; and as far as church authority could extend, were deprived of all enjoyments both in heaven and earth, for refusing to teach the people to profane the sabbath. No defences were admitted, for when Mr Snelling offered to prove by the canons of the church, and the laws of the land, and from the declaration itself, that he was not obliged to read it, the Archbishop said, in open court, that whosoever should make such a defence, it should be burnt before his eyes, and he laid by the heels. Such tyranny as this is not to be found in the history of any protestant churches; even the church of Rome never proceeded so far as to persecute honest ministers for refusing to profane the sabbath.

The Archbishop entered now upon a new project; he wanted to reform the book of common

mon prayer, and render it more agreeable to popery and Arminianism: those passages which seemed to favour the doctrine of election were left out, and those that seemed to oppose popery were expunged; particularly that passage which calls the Pope Antichrist, was left out, and instead of being directed against the church of Rome, was levelled against the Puritans. In the epistle for Palm Sunday, instead of, In the name of Jesus, as it was before Laud's time, it is now, according to the last translation, At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow. It was great presumption for Laud, who was only a single clergyman, or any number of them, to alter a service book, established by act of parliament, and impose these alterations upon the whole body of the clergy. The Puritans had long objected against bowing at the name of Jesus, as a superstitious practice, which implied that there was more reverence due to the name of Jesus, than the names Christ or Emanuel; and, indeed, it is impossible for any person, who reads the Greek New Testament, to find any truth in the present translation of that passage. The Greek words *ev tu onomati* ought neither to be read as in the former version, nor does the passage imply any such practice as bowing the knee at the name of Jesus: for it is both contrary to the genius of the Greek language, and the scope of that passage, to render it as in our translation. That paragraph according to its true scope and intention, should be read, *For, or on account of the name of Jesus every*

M m m 2

*every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess:* For the apostle is assigning the reason why all things in heaven and earth are made subject to Christ, because he humbled himself; and became a saviour for sinners; and the bowing of the knee is applied to things in heaven, and under the earth, as well as to men who live upon it; which plainly shews, that literally bowing of the knee is not the thing which is intended to be taught from the passage. It is full as manifest that every person who hears the name of Jesus, should immediately confess with the tongue that he is Christ, as that they should bow the knee at hearing his name mentioned.

After the Archbishop had reformed the Prayer-book, he next proceeded to reform the churches; the communion table, which had hitherto been placed in the most convenient parts of the churches, where the communicants might be easiest served, were now to be removed, and fixed under the East wall of the chancel, with the ends North and South in form of an altar, and raised two or three steps above the floor, and to be encompassed with rails. The church-wardens in St Gregory's church, near St Paul's, opposed this scheme, affirming, that it was their prerogative to order matters of this kind; but after they had tried this cause in the court of arches, they were obliged to submit to the will of this haughty metropolitane. Many ministers and church-wardens were excommunicated and obliged to do penance for neglecting the Bishops injunctions, and such persons

persons as refused to come up to the rails to receive the sacrament, were fined or excommunicated according as the Bishop thought meet. Several books were written upon this new controversy, and with as much zeal and warmth, as if the whole of men's future happiness had depended thereon; charity was not the characteristic of those times, for all who would not, or could not submit to their neighbours opinion, were considered as unworthy of any favour either from God or man. Laud was now resolved to carry his point, and prosecuted this affair with unrelenting rigour all over the kingdom, punishing those who opposed him with great severity, without the least regard to the laws of the land. This created a division among the Bishops, and raised a great clamour among the inferior clergy: the Laudean party took upon them to make alterations in many places, without the advice of their superiors, and thinking themselves safe under the sanction of the Archbishop, frequently offered affronts to their own diocesans, which produced litigious law suits, and made the church of England truly a church militant. The clergy who opposed the alterations, were called Doctrinal Puritans, and those who promoted them, were considered as Doctrinal Papists. The court clergy were of the latter sort, and were really suspected of a design of introducing popery, on account of the superstitious bowing towards the altar, not only in time of divine service, but in passing through the church. This was a practice unknown to the laity of England

England before this time, and was supposed to proceed from a belief of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament or altar; for there could no better reason be given for that worship which was paid by those cringings and bowings towards the altar in coming and going out of the church. Some thought that this new mode was an imitation of heathen worship, because they bowed with their face towards the East, which made them oppose it more violently, as a mere heathen institution.

To render the adoration more significant, the altars in cathedrals were dressed in the most pompous trapping and furniture, and all the vessels were consecrated in a solemn manner. The cathedral of Canterbury was equipped according to the form of the Roman missal, with two candlesticks and tapers, a bason for oblations, a cushion for the service, a silver canister for the wafers, like a wicker basket lined with cambrick lace, the tonne on a cradle, a chalice with the image of Christ, and the lost sheep, and of the wise men and star engraven on the sides and on the cover. The chalice was covered with a linen napkin, called the *aire*, embroidered with silk, two patens, the *tricanale* being a round ball with a screw cover, out of which issued three pipes for the water of mixture, a *credentia* or side table, with a bason and ewer or napkin, and a towel to wash before consecration, three kneeling stools covered and stuffed, the foot pace with three ascents covered with a Turkey carpet, three chairs used

used at ordinations, and the *septum* or rail with two ascents. Upon some altars was a pot, called the incense pot, and a knife to cut the sacramental bread. This furniture was likewise consecrated with great ceremony: the Archbishop in his cope, with two of his chaplains in their surplices, having bowed several times towards the altar, read a portion of scripture; then the vessels to be consecrated were delivered into the hands of the Archbishop, who, after he had placed them upon the altar, read a form of prayer, desiring God to bless and accept of these vessels, which he severally touched and elevated, offering them up to God; after which they were not to be put to common use. Archbishop Laud seems to have been a great connoisseur in sanctifying inanimate things, and well skilled in all the mummeries of the Roman missal; and it appears very strange, that if he did not mean to introduce popery, he should have been so zealous for its rites and ceremonies.

Laud was not without his troubles notwithstanding his great authority, the lecturers gave him much uneasiness; for these he considered as supporters of Puritanism and the doctrine of Calvin, and his mind was never at ease when he thought upon those subjects; but in such cases of distress, he had one principal way of relieving himself, he applied to the King who never failed to give him the desired assistance. Charles on this occasion issued his injunctions to the Bishops of the province of Canterbury; (1) To ordain

no clergyman without a presentation to a living; (2) or without a certificate, that he is provided of some church; or (3) without some place in a cathedral or collegiate church; or (4) unless he be a fellow of some college; or (5) a master of arts five years standing; or (6) without the intention of the Bishop to provide for him. In consequence of these injunctions, no chaplainship to a nobleman's family, nor any invitation to a lecture could qualify a person for ordination without a living. This deprived many people of preachers, who were willing and very desirous of hearing the gospel.

This year the famous trial of William Prynne, Esq; Barrister at Law, came on in the star-chamber, for writing his *Histriomastix*, a book designed especially against stage plays, masques and dancing, &c. The information says, that though the author knew that the Queen and Lords of the council were frequently present at those diversions, yet he had railed against those and several others, as May-poles, Christmas-keeping, dressing houses with ivy, festivals, &c. that he had aspersed the Queen and commended factious persons; which things are of dangerous consequence to the realm and state. The council for Mr Prynne were Messrs Atkins, Jenkins, Holburne, Horne, and Lightfoot; for the King was Mr Attorney General Noy. After much disputing and reasoning on both sides, he was sentenced to have his book burnt by the hands of the common hangman, to be put from the bar, and to be

be for ever incapable of his profession, to be turned out of the society of Lincoln's Inn, to be degraded at Oxford, to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, to lose both his ears, one in each place, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. This sentence was rigorously executed.

A few months after, Dr. Bastwick, a physician at Colchester, was cited before the high-commission, for writing a book entitled, *Elenchus Religionis papistice*, with an appendix called, *Flagellum Pontificis Et Episcoporum Latialium*. This book gave great offence to the English Bishops, because it denied the divine right of the order of Bishops above presbyters; for this he was discarded from his profession, excommunicated, fined a thousand pounds, and confined in prison till he recanted. Mr. Burton, B. D. Minister of Friday-street, was committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse, for publishing two sermons entitled, *For God and the King*; his house and study were broken open up by a serjeant at arms and pillaged, contrary to the laws of the land and the natural rights of mankind.

These terrible proceedings made many turn sick of their native country, and caused them to look out for an asylum in other countries, where they might live peaceably and enjoy the free exercise of their religion without molestation. Mr John Cotton, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Mr John Davenport, Vicar of Coleman-street, London; Mr Thomas Hooker, Fellow of Em-



manuel College, Cambridge, after suffering a great deal of hardships, went over to New England and spent the remainder of their days in the service of the gospel: all those ministers were persons of eminent character, and much esteemed by their flocks and all good men who were acquainted with them. They were persecuted by Laud merely because they could not approve of those popish modes of religious worship, which he had now introduced into the church.

This year died Dr William Ames, an English Divine, and professor of divinity in the University of Franeker, he was author of a book much celebrated by the Calvinists, called, *De Conscientia*, and some others. After he had continued twelve years at Franeker, he resigned his professorship and accepted of an invitation from the English congregation at Rotterdam to be their pastor. He was much troubled with an asthmatical complaint, which made him leave Franeker, because the air of that place was too sharp for him, and in the winter season he was very much distressed. He was determined to have gone to New England, but his asthma returning in the beginning of winter, put an end to his life on the fourteenth of November, one thousand six hundred and thirty-three. His wife and children embarked for new England next spring, and carried with them his library of books, which was accounted a great treasure to the country at that time. Dr Ames was a very learned divine, a strict Calvinist in his doctrine, but an independent in his per-

persuasion with regard to the form of church government and discipline. In his disputes with the remonstrants in Holland, he discovered a good degree of polemical acumen, and great skill in the scriptures; his arguments for the most part are plain and conclusive, and his Latin stile easy and unaffected. He appears to have been both a learned and good man.

This year Laud made an attempt to disturb the church of Ireland, and the 1634. Walloon churches in England. He endeavoured to bring the church of Ireland to adopt the articles of England, and for this purpose a canon was passed for approving of the English articles, which was done with but one dissenting voice. This canon made the church of Ireland oblige herself to denounce excommunication against all such as affirmed, that any of the thirty-nine articles of England were superstitious or erroneous; so by this means the whole body of the Puritans were hereby excommunicated, and the Irish articles against Arminianism, which maintained the morality of the Sabbath, were excluded.

Mr Sheppard, author of a book intitled, The Sincere Convert, fled to New England this year, he was sadly harrassed by Laud and the rest of the Bishops, which made him take his farewell of Old England, and settle at Cambridge in New England, where he continued pastor of a church till his death. With Sheppard went over Mr John Norton, who settled at Ipswich in

New England, and was afterwards removed to Boston, where he died.

The French and Walloon churches now severely felt the tyranny of the Archbishop: The members of these churches were about ten thousand, whom Laud wanted to bring into subjection to his episcopal authority, and for this purpose proposed to them the following articles of enquiry:—Do you use the Dutch or French liturgy?—Of how many descents are you since you came to England?—Do such as are born here in England conform to the English ceremonies? The ministers and elders demurred upon the question, and insisted upon their charter, which had been granted by Edward the Sixth, and confirmed five times in the reign of James, and twice by Charles himself, by virtue whereof they had been exempted from episcopal jurisdiction till this time. But Laud did not regard their charter, he sent them the two following injunctions by his Vicar General.—That all who were born in England of the Walloon and Dutch congregations, should repair to their parish churches.—That those who were not natives, but came from abroad, while they remained strangers, might use their own discipline, as formerly. This was at once taking away liberty of conscience from all who should have the misfortune to be born in England, and telling the nation that every subject should conform to the dictates of Laud; and, in spite of all conviction to the contrary, publicly approve of the English discipline. These churches pleaded  
for

for a toleration; but favours of this sort were not to be obtained from a man, whose feelings were become callous to the entreaties of those who could not reasonably submit to his jurisdiction. It was in vain to reason with a person concerning principles of conscience, who had no principles of his own, except private interest, and never, in the whole course of his life, felt for other people's distress. When these foreigners applied to the King, and the Mayor of Canterbury and others interceded for them, his Majesty replied, *We must believe our Bishop*. The account which Laud had given concerning these protestants was, That they were a nest of schismatics, and that it was better to have no foreign churches than to indulge non-conformity. The Archbishop assured them that his Majesty was resolved to have his injunctions obeyed, and that all their children of the second descent, born in England, should resort to their parish churches; and his lordship added, that if they did not conform, that he would proceed against them according to the laws and ecclesiastical canons. Accordingly some of their churches were prohibited, others shut up, and their assemblies dissolved; their ministers were suspended, and many of their people left the kingdom. This was a great loss to the nation; for these protestants were in general manufacturers, who supported many hundreds of poor people, by employing them in business, whereby they were enabled to maintain their families, and live decently.

The

The Archbishop not only persecuted the protestants who resided in England, but endeavoured to shew all the disrespect he could to the foreign churches abroad. The Queen of Bohemia, King Charles's sister, solicited her brother, in a most earnest manner, to admit of a public collection over England for the poor persecuted ministers of the Palatinate, who were banished their country on account of their religion. Charles, upon her solicitation, granted a brief to go through the kingdom; but when it came to Laud, he excepted against a clause therein, which affirmed that these protestants suffered for the same religion which was professed in England. The Bishop's objections were these two; the religion of the Palatine is that of Calvin, and is not the same with that of England, because their ministers have not episcopal ordination. He objected to the church of Rome being called Antichrist, because it would then follow that she was in no capacity to convey sacerdotal power in ordinations; and consequently the ministers in the church of England could not be rightly ordained, for they had no orders except what they had derived from the church of Rome. These wild objections Laud proposed to the King, and though they were of themselves absolutely absurd, they had such weight with Charles, as made him put a stop to the collection, that it did not succeed according to the intention of the brief. Some of the Puritans hearing that this collection did not succeed, signed a private letter to their friends, desiring them

to enlarge their charity, as to men of the same faith and persuasion with themselves; and promised to take care of the right distribution of the money: but as soon as Laud heard of it, he cited those divines before the high commission, and put a stop to the collection. Such a monster of inhumanity as this Archbishop never disgraced an episcopal see; for he neither would do good himself, nor suffer other people to do it. What could be more inhuman and barbarous than, for some small difference of sentiment, to endeavour to starve his fellow creatures, when they were humbly craving supply; a person capable of such unfeeling barbarity, could with no propriety of language be supposed to believe any one article of the christian religion. The name of Archbishop Laud, suppose he had never done any more atrocious wickedness, will, on account of this single deed, stink in the nostrils of all good men who read his history, till the latest ages.

The case of the Puritan ministers was now deplorable; they were beset with spies, 1635 and haunted perpetually with incendiaries, who mingled with them in all companies, and watched their words and behaviour, so that every unguarded expression which they at any time occasionally uttered, was carried to the Bishops and improved to their disadvantage. This odious practice of informing was carried so far that many were obliged to forsake their places of abode, and flee to foreign countries that they might live unmolested and enjoy their liberty. The practice of emi-

emigrations became now so frequent, that the council found themselves obliged to publish a proclamation to forbid all persons, except sailors and soldiers, merchants and factors, to depart the kingdom without his Majesty's licence. Notwithstanding of this proclamation, many still went abroad; and this year Mr Bulkley, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, and Mr Richard Mather, Minister of Toxteth, near Liverpool, sailed to New England, and arrived at Boston. This gentleman was grandfather of the famous Cotton Mather, who wrote the history of New England.

This year Laud endeavoured to extend his power still further; he was resolved to bring part of the business of Westminster-hall into the ecclesiastical courts. The civilians who were generally dupes to the Bishops, as being partly clergymen, and partly bishops, chancellors, and commissaries, assisted the Archbishop strongly in this particular. They opposed the prohibitions, and other proceedings at law, on behalf of the spiritual courts, with a zeal which loudly proclaimed their selfish disposition, and shewed the mercenary turn of their minds; they had already procured some privileges and orders from the King in behalf of the civil Law, which excluded the other lawyers from having any share in those pleadings which were carried on in their courts.

This made the gentlemen of the other faculty enemies to the Bishops and their courts, which in the end did them an injury, and procured them foes who had it in their power to affect the  
the

the clergy in their estates and possessions more than they could injure them in their practice. Lord Clarendon allows that it was ill policy to grant such privileges to the ecclesiastical courts, because in these courts all processes are attended with more trouble and expence than in those of Westminster-hall, as all persons have reason to know who have tried the experiment. Laud was not even satisfied with this advancement of church authority, but likewise prevailed with the King, for all the Bishops to hold their courts in their own names and by their own seals, without letters patent under the great seal. This was expressly contrary to the law of the land, expressed in the Statute 1st, of Edward the Sixth, cap. 2, which declares, that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction is immediately derived from the crown; and all persons exercising such jurisdiction, shall have in their seals the King's arms, and shall use no other seal of jurisdiction, on pain of imprisonment. By transgressing this law, all the clergy in England were liable to a premunire, for acting without a commission, seeing all jurisdiction of this sort ought, according to law, to be exercised in the King's name, signified by letters patent, under his Majesty's seal.

The Archbishop went on rapidly from one acquisition of power to another, that 1636. all persons of any judgment and foresight perceived he could not continue long: He now proceeded, in consequence of his metropolitan right, to visit the two Universities, which he did with a vengeance, and caused a new body of statutes



to be drawn up, which shewed his attachment to popery more than to the interests of the reformation. He reflected severely upon the order which had been introduced in the reign of Edward, and said that the University was discomposed by that King's injunctions, and the flattering novelty of the age; but he commends the discipline under the reign of Mary, where he says, That inbred candour supplied the want of statutes. In this Laud spoke like himself, and has given sufficient reason for any impartial person to conclude, that popery was more agreeable to his heart than the religion of the New Testament. The Bishops proceeded still farther, and extended their power to a more extravagant pitch; they framed new articles of visitation in their own names, without the King's seal and authority, and administered an oath of enquiry to the churchwardens concerning them. This was a perfect outrage upon all laws, contrary to the act of submission, 25th of Henry the Eighth, cap. 25, and the 12th canon of one thousand six hundred and three, which declares, That whosoever shall affirm it lawful for any sort of ministers or lay persons to assemble, and make rules, orders, and constitutions, in causes ecclesiastical, without the King's authority, and shall submit themselves to be ruled and governed by them, shall be excommunicated.

These articles of enquiry were the occasion of infinite mischief to many; for some weak and foolish people accounted themselves bound by this oath

oath to inform against their nearest relations, not because they were guilty of any immorality, but because they failed in some instances to observe the Bishops injunctions; and others, from malicious intentions, informed against their conscientious neighbours, on purpose to ruin them. Some churchwardens refused to take the oath, and were imprisoned, and forced to do penance. It was made criminal for any person to say, that it was unlawful to take that oath, and such as were so rash as to speak their mind on that particular, were punished accordingly. The Bishops now ruled with uncontrolled authority, and all who did not obey them were sure to feel the effect of their indignation. The Puritans chiefly felt the influence of these new articles of enquiry; for of all sins, which it was possible for any person to commit, none was accounted so atrocious as non-conformity; the least degree of an offence of this sort, was sufficient to ruin any person to all intents and purposes; they were excommunicated from the communion of the church, and delivered over to Satan, and punished in such a manner by the high commission; and spiritual courts, as would have puzzled the devil himself to have contrived. The severe execution of those articles, ruined at once whole families, who were deprived of all livelihood for non-conformity: in less than two years, upwards of fifty pious and sober ministers were suspended and silenced, for the most part in the diocese of Norwich. Bishop Wren, and his successor Montague, shewed no mercy; they

discharged all lectures, and deprived the lecturers; so, that without considering either the loss of the people, or the distress of the ministers and their families, they suspended and silenced them all, unless they would conform to the injunctions of the Bishops.

The church of England was now at the height of her splendor, and grasped not only at all spiritual jurisdiction, but at the highest offices of state. Juxton, Bishop of London, was declared high treasurer of England, and next in precedence to the Archbishop. This new treasurer had been but shortly known at court, for he had been no more than a private chaplain to the King, and head of one of the meanest houses in Oxford. No clergyman had held this office since the times of popery, but Laud valued himself upon this nomination: for in his diary he says, *If the church will not uphold themselves, under God, they can do no more.* This preferment of Juxton's gave great offence to the nobility, and the whole body of the lay gentlemen; they considered the church as a gulph, which was like to swallow up in its vortex all the great offices of state; for there were many, besides Juxton, who were in high expectation of being preferred to civil dignities. The clergy in general began to behave superciliously towards their neighbours of quality, and looked with contempt upon their patrons. When they were put in the commission of the peace, they acted like tyrants to all their inferiors, and behaved despitely towards their equals:

